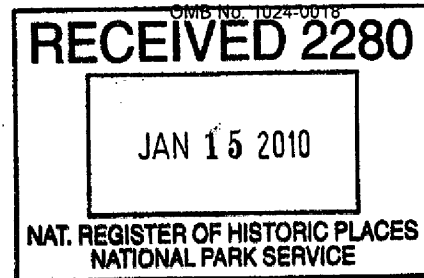


United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES REGISTRATION FORM



This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form (National Register Bulletin 16A). Complete each item by marking "X" in the appropriate box or by entering the information requested. If any item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions. Place additional entries and narrative items on continuation sheets (NPS Form 10-900a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer, to complete all items.

1. Name of Property

Historic name May 4, 1970, Kent State Shootings Site

Other names/site number N/A

2. Location

street & number 0.5 miles southeast of the intersection of East Main Street and South Lincoln Street n/a ☐ not for publication

city or town Kent ☐ vicinity

state Ohio code OH county Portage code 133 zip code 44242-0001

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1986, as amended, I hereby certify that this ☒ nomination ☐ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property ☒ meets ☐ does not meet the National Register Criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant ☒ nationally ☐ statewide ☐ locally. (☐ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

F. P. H. Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer JANUARY 7, 2010
Signature of certifying official Date

Ohio Historic Preservation Office, Ohio Historical Society
State or Federal agency and bureau

In my opinion, the property ☐ meets ☐ does not meet the National Register criteria. (☐ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Signature of commenting or other official Date

State or Federal agency and bureau

4. National Park Service Certification

I, hereby certify that this property is:
☒ entered in the National Register
☐ See continuation sheet.
☐ determined eligible for the
National Register
☐ See continuation sheet.

☐ determined not eligible for the
National Register
☐ removed from the National Register
☐ other (explain): _____

Signature of Keeper

Date of Action

Patrick Andrews

2/23/2010

5. Classification**Ownership of Property**

(Check as many boxes as apply)

- ☐ private
☐ public-local
X public-State
☐ public-Federal

Category of Property

(Check only one box)

- ☐ building(s)
☐ district
X site
☐ structure
☐ object

Number of Resources within Property

(Do not include previously listed resources in the count)

Contributing	Noncontributing	
1	1	buildings
		sites
2	1	structures
3	7	objects
6	9	Total

Name of related multiple property listing

(Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing.)

N/A

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register

0

6. Function or Use**Historic Functions**

(Enter categories from instructions)

EDUCATION/University

Current Functions

(Enter categories from instructions)

EDUCATION/University

7. Description**Architectural Classification**

(Enter categories from instructions)

N/A

Materials

(Enter categories from instructions)

Foundation
roof
walls

other

earth, concrete, glass, stone, wood,
asphalt, metal, brick

Narrative Description

(Describe the historic and current condition of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

see Continuation Sheet, Section 7

8. Statement of Significance**Applicable National Register Criteria**

(Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing)

- ☒ **A** Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- ☐ **B** Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- ☐ **C** Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
- ☐ **D** Property has yielded, or is likely to yield information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations

(Mark "X" in all the boxes that apply.)

Property is:

- ☐ **A** owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes.
- ☐ **B** removed from its original location.
- ☐ **C** a birthplace or a grave.
- ☐ **D** a cemetery.
- ☐ **E** a reconstructed building, object, or structure.
- ☐ **F** a commemorative property.
- ☒ **G** less than 50 years of age or achieved significance within the past 50 years.

Narrative Statement of Significance

(Explain the significance of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

see Continuation Sheet, Section 8

9. Major Bibliographical References**Bibliography**

(Cite the books, articles, and other sources used in preparing this form on one or more continuation sheets.)

Previous documentation on file (NPS)

- ☐ preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
- ☐ previously listed in the National Register
- ☐ previously determined eligible by the National Register
- ☐ designated a National Historic Landmark
- ☐ recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey

- ☐ recorded by Historic American Engineering Record

see Continuation Sheet, Section 9

Areas of Significance

(Enter categories from instructions)

Social History

Politics/Government

Law

Period of Significance

May 1-4, 1970

Significant Dates

May 4, 1970

Significant Person

(Complete if Criterion B is marked above)

Cultural Affiliation**Architect/Builder****Primary location of additional data**

x State Historic Preservation Office

☐ Other State agency

☐ Federal agency

☐ Local government

x University

☐ Other

Name of repository: Kent State University; Yale University; State Archives of Ohio

10. Geographical DataAcreage of Property 17.24 acres**UTM References**

(Place additional UTM references on a continuation sheet)

Zone Easting Northing
#1 17 470829 4555647
#2 17 471293 4555721Zone Easting Northing
#3 17 471410 4555517
#4 17 471271 4555259Zone Easting Northing
#5 17 470881 4555379

See continuation sheet [Continuation Sheet, Section 10 and Map 4]

Verbal Boundary Description(Describe the boundaries of the property on a continuation sheet.)
see Continuation Sheet, Section 10**Boundary Justification**(Explain why the boundaries were selected on a continuation sheet.)
See Continuation Sheet, Section 10**11. Form Prepared By**name/title organization Mark F. Seeman/Professor of Anthropology/Kent State University; Carole Barbato/Professor of Communication Studies/Kent State University; Laura Davis, Professor of English/Kent State University; Jerry Lewis/Professor Emeritus of Sociology/Kent State University date 12/31/2008street & number 215 Lowry Hall/Department of Anthropology/Kent State University telephone 330.672.2705city or town Kent state OH zip code 44242-0001**Additional Documentation**

Submit the following items with the completed form:

Continuation Sheets**Maps**A **USGS map** (7.5- or 15-minute series) indicating the property's location.A **Sketch map** for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources.**Photographs**Representative **black and white** photographs of the property.**Additional items**

(Check with the SHPO or FPO for any additional items)

Property Owner

(Complete this item at the request of the SHPO or FPO.)

name Dr. Charlene Reed, Secretary, Kent State University Board of Trusteesstreet & number KSU, P.O. Box 5190 telephone _____city or town Kent state OH zip code 44242

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C. 470 et seq.).

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 18.1 hours per response including the time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Chief, Administrative Services Division, National Park Service, P.O. Box 37127, Washington, DC 20013-7127; and the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reductions Project (1024-0018), Washington, DC 20503.

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NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

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May 4, 1970, Kent State Shootings Site, Portage County, OH

The May 4, 1970, Kent State Shootings Site is located on the campus of Kent State University within the city of Kent, northeastern Ohio (Map 1). Kent State is the second largest university system in Ohio, with an official enrollment in 2009 of 38,457, with 24,569 students on the Kent campus. The Kent campus covers approximately 866 acres of rolling Ohio topography and includes 119 buildings. Here in 1970 there occurred a confrontation between the Ohio National Guard and college students (in a crowd numbering at its height at about 2-3,000, including spectators) protesting both the Vietnam War and the physical presence of the National Guard on the college campus. Thirteen Kent State students were shot during this confrontation, four fatally. The May 4, 1970, Kent State Shootings Site is located near the center of the Kent State campus and consists of two well-bounded, open and level areas, separated by Blanket Hill (Map 2). This large area is not unlike many on college campuses in the United States, with interspersed green space, classroom buildings, dormitories, recreational facilities, parking lots, and wooded areas. Although the campus was founded in 1910, most of the buildings and physical features in the immediate area of the shootings post-date World War II and are coincident with a period when this portion of campus experienced considerable growth associated with increases in enrollment and an expanded mission (Bills 1990b:5-7). Current uses here show great continuity with those of the 1960s and 1970s, with students and faculty moving to and from classes, playing ad hoc games of Frisbee or softball on the lawns, and gathering for a variety of social and educational purposes. As defined, the May 4, 1970 Shootings Site covers 17.24 acres of the campus and includes six contributing and nine noncontributing resources (Map 2). These can be appraised as relating to one of three general subareas of the site: the Commons, Blanket Hill, and the Southern Terrace. The May 4, 1970, Kent State Shootings Site is an irregular area within which the Ohio National Guard, student protestors, and an active audience of observers and/or sympathizers ebbed and flowed across a central portion of the campus, beginning at approximately 11:00 a.m. and ending at approximately 1:30 p.m., May 4, 1970.

The Commons. The northern portion of the May 4, 1970, Kent State Shootings Site is composed of a grassy open space known as "the Commons" (OH_PortageCounty_May4_01). The Commons has an accumulated history of serving as a location for student gatherings, recreation, rallies, athletic victory celebrations, and political demonstrations. It was the location of a noon student protest rally on May 4, 1970. The origins of this name lie well back in university history and prior to May 4, 1970. Today the Commons is used primarily by students for a variety of both organized and informal outdoor and recreational activities. The Commons is bordered by walkways and plantings on its eastern and western flanks and is bounded to the south by a partially wooded hill slope, on the west by dormitory buildings, and on the north by dormitory and classroom buildings. It is a recognizable cultural space. By May 4, 1970 and after 60 years of university expansion, the Commons was an established, centrally-located landscape feature of the Kent State campus. At that time, Michener (1971:330) notes that the Commons was ringed by on-lookers that, "formed a gigantic amphitheater focusing upon a small stage of green" (Michener 1971:330). Structures and buildings associated with this portion of the site include the Victory Bell (contributing), Lilac Lane and

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May 4, 1970, Kent State Shootings Site, Portage County, OH

associated marker (contributing), and the Kent Four sculpture (noncontributing). In 1970, it was also the location of the ROTC building or East Hall, a wooden, prefabricated building bought as military surplus after World War II (Michener 1971:10). The ROTC building was burned down sometime between 8:30 and 8:45 p.m. on May 2, 1970.

Blanket Hill. Immediately south of the Commons as the level land gives way to a steep incline, Blanket Hill rises as high ground on the Kent State University campus (OH_PortageCounty_May4_01, OH_PortageCounty_May4_02). Here the mass of Taylor Hall, which in 1970 was the home of the Schools of Journalism and Architecture, and the *Daily Kent Stater* student newspaper, together with flanking Johnson and Prentice Halls and strong local topographic relief, serves to channel foot traffic through relatively narrow 90-ft-wide pass-ways on either side of this four-story building, thus connecting the northern and southern portions of the site. This traffic pattern is reflected in the distribution of existing sidewalks and pathways. The northern slope of Blanket Hill is wooded, more so to the northeast than to the southwest, as it was in 1970. The southern slope of the hill is a more open configuration of lawn and sidewalks, again reflecting the 1970 condition. Blanket Hill is bordered to the west by the Johnson-Stopher residence hall complex, rebuilt in 2008 largely on its original footprint, and on the east by tennis courts, a parking lot, and a noticeable drop in elevation.

Notable structures, buildings and objects on Blanket Hill include: Taylor Hall (contributing); the Pagoda (contributing); the Don Drumm *Solar Totem* sculpture (contributing); the May 4 Memorial (non-contributing); and the Ohio State Historical Society May 4 marker (noncontributing). Each is described in more detail below.

The Southern Terrace. The third area of the site, the unnamed terrace southeast of Blanket Hill, contains the Prentice Hall Parking Lot, a level lawn area associated with the former Practice Field, and the Gym Annex building. The parking lot and practice field comprising the terrace are marked on maps 2, 3, and 5 (OH_PortageCounty_May4_03, OH_PortageCounty_May4_04, OH_PortageCounty_May4_05). It is bounded on the north by the façade of Prentice Hall dormitory and on the east by a noticeable drop to a lower elevation and Midway Drive, which partially crosses the campus. In 1970, the eastern and southeastern portions of this area were bounded by a six-foot-high chain-link fence capped with barbed wire. As noted by Davies (1973:42), "What happened on the practice field is inseparable from what happened a few minutes later at the Pagoda." The Prentice Hall Parking Lot is a contributing structure in this area of the site, while the B'nai B'rith Hillel marker, the Gym Annex and the Jeffrey Miller, Allison Krause, William Schroeder, and Sandra Scheuer individual markers are noncontributing resources.

Contributing and Noncontributing Resources

Contributing resources include:

- 1) *Taylor Hall* (contributing building). Taylor Hall, a rectangular, four-story building of dark glass and cement with a Greek-influenced peristyle of linear columns is located at the apex

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May 4, 1970, Kent State Shootings Site, Portage County, OH

of Blanket Hill (Michener 1971:10). Taylor Hall was named for William Taylor, a former professor of journalism, and is currently the home of the College of Architecture and Environmental Design, the College of the Arts, and the School of Communication Studies (OH_PortageCounty_May4_06). It was built in 1967, designed by architects Ward and Schneider, and contains a square footage of 65,564. Taylor Hall fits within the New Formalism style, which Whiffen (1969:257) describes as characterized by buildings that are self-contained, free-standing blocks, with strictly symmetrical elevations. New Formalism buildings feature skylines that are level, and they are often defined at the top by a heavy, projecting roof slab. Wall surfaces are always smooth, often glossy, and utilize a wide range of materials for facing. Columnar supports are more forcefully molded than in International or Miesian styles. On May 4, 1970, Taylor Hall was an integral part of the cultural landscape and figured centrally into the National Guard plan to drive the demonstrators from the Commons. At the beginning of the rally on the Commons below and to the north, the Taylor Hall portico and overlooking windows were crowded with student onlookers. As the Guard advanced to flanking positions to the north and south of the building, respectively, tear gas entered the building air conditioning ducts, causing some to leave the building, and thus contributed to the growing crowd east of the building at the time that shots were fired (Michener 1971:332, 337, 340). In 1970, Taylor Hall was the home of the School of Journalism, as well as the student newspaper, the *Daily Kent Stater*. Student journalists and photographers captured the Guard's movement and student reaction in more than 1,000 photographs, which helped to provide a more accurate picture of what happened. The exterior of Taylor Hall is the same today as it was in 1970; the only minor changes to be seen is the resurfacing of the cement portico with an asphalt and pebble composition and the installation of ADA accessible doors on the northern and southern elevations.

- 2) *The Victory Bell* (contributing object). UTM 17 0471073 4555525 Elev. 1175 ft amsl. The Victory Bell was placed on the Commons in 1950 by Kent State President George Bowman (OH_PortageCounty_May4_07). The actual bronze bell itself came from an old Erie Lackawanna locomotive (Michener 1971:13). The tan brick and sandstone housing was designed by architecture student Arvid Johnson. It is strongly geometric in form with rectangular and trapezoidal elements. It stands seven feet tall and has a basal dimension of fifteen feet. Lighter areas of the brick are associated with the cleaning of graffiti, the remnants of which can still be made out on some surfaces. In early years, the bell was rung to celebrate athletic victories. Color differences in the mortar suggest that some of the upper portion of the housing may have been repointed. Beginning in the 1960s, the bell signaled the start of political rallies and was the focal point for a number of anti-poverty and antiwar rallies (Michener 1971:13). On May 4, 1970, several thousand students participating in the initial protest that noon were concentrated at a rally at the Victory Bell, and an audio tape records the Victory Bell ringing at the time that an order to leave the

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May 4, 1970, Kent State Shootings Site, Portage County, OH

Commons was delivered to students from a National Guard jeep, both before the May 4 shooting and also immediately after the shooting (Kelner and Munves 1980:177-178). The Victory Bell is visible in many historic photographs taken on May 4, 1970, and its appearance is the same as it is today.

- 3) *Lilac Lane and Boulder Marker* (contributing structure). UTM 17 0470934 4555602 Elev. 1208 ft amsl. The Commons is bounded to the north and east by Lilac Lane, a curving east-west walkway flanked by approximately 85 large and established lilac bushes on either side. It extends in a gradual curve from a 600-lb. memorial granite boulder near Oscar Ritchie Hall in the east to Prentice Hall in the west, covering a distance of about 520 feet (OH_PortageCounty_May4_8). The bronze plaque on the boulder marker at the north end of Lilac Lane reads, "Lilac Lane. A memorial to Anna Ulen Engleman. 1873-1943. Presented by James Ozro Engleman. President Kent State University, 1928-1938. I marvel at returning life that changes beauty into greater beauty. A.U.E." Lilac Lane and the northeastern terminus boulder marker are visible in historic photographs taken May 4, 1970. The boulder marker is a useful visual reference to the location of the burned ROTC building immediately to the west since both are visible in the same historic photographs. On May 4, 1970, the shrubs of Lilac Lane and an associated temporary construction fence following its perimeter provided an active and recognizable boundary to the eastern margin of the Commons area. A comparison of aerial photographs shows that the construction of Lilac Lane predates May 4, 1970, and is the same in 2009 as it was in 1970. It is an intact feature of the cultural landscape that contributes to the integrity of the site.
- 4) *The Pagoda* (contributing object). UTM 17 0471130 4555436 Elev. 1210 ft amsl. The Pagoda was a classroom project of five architecture students, one of whom was Robert Gressard (OH_PortageCounty_May4_09). Constructed of wood and concrete, it was completed shortly before the weekend of May 4, 1970. It is approximately 9 ft tall and is located immediately southwest of Taylor Hall. On May 4, 1970, the Pagoda served as a focal point for the advance and retreat of the Guard. Some researchers have argued that the Pagoda was a convenient landmark on high ground and was thus a logical place to sight rifles (Gordon 1995:60). "As the photographic backdrop for events which swirled around it, this Japanese pagoda became the most familiar landmark in Kent" (Michener 1971:354). The pagoda appears the same in 2009 as it was in 1970.
- 5) *"Solar Totem"* (contributing object). UTM 17 0471143 4555455 Elev. 1197 ft amsl. This sculpture by Akron-area artist Don Drumm is constructed of welded COR-TEN plate steel and was erected immediately south of Taylor Hall in 1967 (OH_PortageCounty_May4_10). It is fifteen feet tall and is composed of two interlocked towers composed of approximately one hundred rectangular and trapezoidal steel panels welded together to form a series of elements—some open and some closed. Its original intent was to, "evoke the totemic

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May 4, 1970, Kent State Shootings Site, Portage County, OH

status of the region's most precious and problematic industrial product," manufactured in the steel mills of northeastern Ohio (O'Hara 2006:312). This sculpture can be seen prominently in several historic photographs and it appears that several students took shelter behind it at the time of the shootings. A .30 caliber armor-piercing bullet from an M-1 rifle perforated the sculpture at the time of the shootings approximately three feet from its base. The Bureau of Criminal Investigation laboratory working for the Ohio Attorney General's office determined that the bullet entered the sculpture from near the southwest corner of Taylor Hall (Kelner and Munves 1980:220). The artist, Don Drumm noted, "That bullet hole is a fingerprint of time. . . . I don't want anyone to touch that bullet hole. It is a record of a tragic time and to me it is a symbol of peace" (Centuori 1999:6). The only alterations between 1970 and 2009 form is the nearly continuous use of this sculpture for chalked messages and symbolism of May 4: peace signs; drawn flowers; and statements of, "Remember Allison," "Peace should always be ours," "Rotten, odious, terrible, cancer," "Love you Bill, we also remember you," "There will be an answer, let it be," "Save our troops," and "Love and peace." It has been argued that the *Solar Totem* is one of the most important vernacular expressions of memory of May 4, 1970 (Centuori 1999:5).

- 6) *The Prentice Hall Parking Lot* (contributing structure). The Prentice Hall Parking Lot achieved its present configuration sometime prior to May 4, 1970 (OH_PortageCounty_May4_03). It was probably constructed at the time that the Prentice Hall dormitory was built in 1959 (Nurmi 1993:129). The Prentice Hall Parking Lot is a flat, open, rectangular asphalt-covered lot extending over an area of approximately 210 x 125 ft, with spaces for 88 vehicles. Today it mainly services faculty and staff working in Taylor Hall and the Gym Annex. Seven students were shot in and around the Prentice Hall Parking Lot by the Guard positioned near the Pagoda on May 4, 1970.

Noncontributing resources include:

- 1) *Gym Annex* (noncontributing building). The Gym Annex was designed by Richard Fleischman Architects, Inc., of Cleveland, Ohio (OH_PortageCounty_May4_05, Map 2). It was built in 1978-1979 as an addition to the Memorial Gym (now M.A.C. Center) and extended this construction northward into the Practice Field area, which required the re-grading of a portion of Blanket Hill. The Gym Annex is a fan-shaped, two-story building designed to house an Olympic-sized swimming pool, game rooms, a dance studio, handball courts, basketball courts, locker rooms and offices. It encompasses square footage of 255,318. The Gym Annex employs broad surfaces of unadorned brick and smoked glass, reflecting Miesian influence in its tinted glass curtain walls, exposed brick surfaces, and flat roof. In 2009, the Gym Annex is used by the School of Exercise, Leisure and Sport and also houses dance studios, basketball courts, an unused and drained swimming pool, and reconfigured space for architecture studios, interior design studios, and classrooms. Many of the intended uses of the Gym Annex have been modified

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substantially. The building is also showing its age, and soon will require substantial structural renovation if it is to remain in use (Elwin Robison, personal communication, 2006). Beginning in 1972, the proposed construction of the Gym Annex on the site of known May 4, 1970, events served as a focal point for continuing controversy and protest demonstrations, as discussed below in Section 8 (Statement of Significance).

- 2) *B'nai B'rith Hillel Marker* (noncontributing object). UTM 17 0471196 4555497 Elev. 1197 ft amsl. In 1971, on the first anniversary of May 4, 1970, B'nai B'rith Hillel placed a cast aluminum plaque in the Prentice Hall Parking Lot in memory of the four slain students (Bills 1990b:53). This marker was stolen on the evening of May 3, 1974, and was destroyed. It was replaced the following year on May 3, 1975, with a new pink granite marker (Bills 1990b:54). This too subsequently was damaged and has been replaced by a third marker, again of granite. The 2-foot high, rectangular pink granite stone serves as a focal point of May 4 memorial observance on the Kent campus. Every year on the evening of May 3, it marks the end of the candlelight march that weaves its way around the campus starting at the Victory Bell and ending at this marker where participants leave their lit candles in remembrance.
- 3) *Jeffrey Miller individual marker* (noncontributing object). UTM 17 0471188 4555479 Elev. 1164 ft amsl. As a result of a request from the May 4 Task Force student organization and the families of the slain students, Kent State University authorized the installation of four markers locating the places in the Prentice Hall Parking Lot where the four students were killed on May 4, 1970 (OH_PortageCounty_May4_04). The markers were dedicated on September 8, 1999. Each consists of a low granite berm outlining a rectangular space approximately 5 x 12 ft, a name plate, and six lit, black precast concrete bollards.
- 4) *Allison Krause individual marker* (noncontributing object). UTM 17 0471208 4555504 Elev. 1178 ft amsl. See above.
- 5) *William Schroeder individual marker* (noncontributing object). UTM 17 0471229 4555487 Elev. 1179 ft amsl. See above.
- 6) *Sandra Scheuer individual marker* (noncontributing object). UTM 17 0471233 4555506 Elev. 1176 ft amsl. See above.
- 7) *The Kent Four* (noncontributing object). UTM 17 0471001 4555532 Elev. 1172 ft amsl. The Kent Four sculpture was created by artist Alastair Granville-Jackson in 1971. It was originally sited on a level lawn west of Stopher-Johnson and outside of the May 4, 1970, Kent State Shootings Site proposed boundaries. The sculpture in painted steel has as its main elements a series of upturned, symmetrically placed tubes on a pedestal symbolizing

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the modification of 4 rifle barrels into trumpets of deliverance. Originally it was intended that this sculpture have flames coming from the tube orifices and in fact these were lit at times. The Kent Four sculpture was relocated within the historic property boundary near its eastern margin and to the southeast of the Art Building in 2006 in conjunction with the renovation of the Stopher-Johnson complex.

- 8) *Ohio Historical Society Marker* (noncontributing object). UTM 17 0471188 4555520 Elev. 1196 ft amsl. On May 1, 2007, a bronze Ohio Historical Society marker was placed approximately 75 ft east of the southeast corner of Taylor Hall. The text recounts the main facts of the May 4, 1970, shootings and the relationship to President Richard Nixon's announcement of the invasion of Cambodia and associated nationwide protests.
- 9) *May 4 Memorial* (noncontributing structure). UTM 17 0471142 4555554 Elev. 1184 ft amsl. The May 4 Memorial commemorates the events of May 4, 1970 (OH_PortageCounty_May4_11). The construction was based on a design submitted by Chicago architect Bruno Ast in the University's National Design Competition in 1986. It extends over 2.5 acres along the extreme eastern margin of the site core area. The main structural elements include a 70-ft wide plaza bounded by a granite walkway, a low granite entryway, and four freestanding rectangular granite pylons. Engraved on the plaza's stone threshold are the words, "Inquire, Learn, Reflect." 58,175 daffodils symbolizing the American soldiers who lost their lives during the Vietnam War were planted on the slope.

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May 4, 1970, Kent State Shootings Site, Portage County, OH

Historical and Social Significance

Summary Paragraph

In 1970, student unrest was considered the major social problem in the United States (Fendrich 2003:350). On May 4 of that year, Kent State University was placed in an international spotlight after a student protest against the Vietnam War and the presence of the Ohio National Guard on campus ended in tragedy when the Guard shot and killed four and wounded nine Kent State students. The May 4, 1970, Kent State Shootings Site is nominated to the National Register of Historic Places under Criterion A as a property associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history, with the additional Criterion Consideration G. This property is nationally significant, given its broad effects in causing the largest student strike in United States history, increasing recruitment for the movement against the Vietnam War and affecting public opinion about the war, creating a legal precedent established by the trials subsequent to the shootings, and for the symbolic status the event has attained as a result of a government confronting protesting citizens with unreasonable deadly force. To understand the historical and social significance of May 4, 1970, it must be placed within the larger national student protest movement at the time, with roots in the peace movement and the civil rights movement of the early sixties, coalescing for college students in the burgeoning antiwar movement of the mid-sixties. On college campuses, the generation gap of the sixties was strongly felt, with those in positions of authority—parents, campus administrators, politicians, and law enforcement officials—squarely lined up on one side of the divide and rising numbers of students on the other. On May 4, the Ohio National Guard, literally lined up on one side of the University Commons, with students gathered on the other. Most students were observers, many felt aligned with the general counterculture movement, some were campus activists. While President Richard Nixon's own comment on the shootings asserted authoritarian values and lacked sympathy—"This should remind us all once again that when dissent turns to violence it invites tragedy" (quoted in Langguth 2000:570)—this watershed moment spurred the spread of antiwar sentiment throughout the nation, crossing over the generation gap. What Nixon failed to see, his staff recognized: "Kent State" was one of the major symbolic events of the Vietnam War as well as the 1960's, marking the beginning of the end of Nixon's presidency (Haldeman, with DiMona 1978:107). During these war years, the legal aftermath of May 4 was well on its way to becoming, "one of the longest, costliest, and most complex set of courtroom struggles in American history," setting precedent in the U.S. Supreme Court (Hensley 2000:63, 77). The cultural theme, therefore, against which the significance of the May 4, 1970, Kent State Shooting Site must be evaluated, is the general theme of civil rights, and, more specifically, the national student protest movement of the 1960s and 1970s that arose from it. The period of significance is May 1-May 4, 1970. Discussion in this section is organized under the following headings: A. The Rise of the National Student Protest Movement; B. Kent State's Place in the National Student Protest Movement; C. Memorialization and the Construction of Memory of the Kent State Shootings; D. Site Integrity; and E. Postscripts.

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A. The Rise of the National Student Protest Movement

On June 13, 1970, following the shooting of students by law enforcement authorities at Kent State and at Jackson State College in Mississippi, President Nixon appointed Pennsylvania governor William Scranton to head a study of campus unrest in the United States. Completed in just three months, the 537-page *Report of the President's Commission on Campus Unrest* was able to cite a current, well-established body of literature on its topic. The report's bibliography identified 176 separate print sources, 14 other bibliographies, and a compilation by the National Institute of Mental Health Information of abstracts of journal articles on the "Student Power Movement" published between 1967 and 1969. The opening lines of the report confirmed the significance of the student protest movement:

The crisis on American campuses has no parallel in the history of the nation. This crisis has roots in divisions of American society as deep as any since the Civil War. (Scranton 1970:1)

The first charge of the President's Commission was, "to identify the principal causes of campus violence, particularly in the specific occurrences of this spring" (Scranton 1970:535). Thus the volume that the group produced included a "Special Report on Kent State" and a separate one on Jackson State, set in the context of the national student protest movement. The commission saw the origins of the student movement in the civil rights movement in the early 60s and the peace movement that arose in response to the threat of nuclear annihilation during the Cold War (Scranton 1970:21-22). More than thirty years later, Christian Appy (2003:142) comes to many of the same conclusions, again putting particular emphasis on the importance of the civil rights moment for understanding the student antiwar movement:

Collective efforts to protest America's war in Vietnam had many roots, but perhaps none so important as the civil rights movement of the 1950s and '60s. Thousands of future anti-war activists participated in, or were deeply inspired by, the boycotts, sit-ins, freedom rides, and community organizing that comprised the mass movement to end racial discrimination in the United States. The experience and example of challenging legal, political, economic, and cultural institutions that sustained racial inequality and division provided valuable political training for many who would later oppose America's actions in Vietnam.

By the end of the 1960s the twin threads of civil rights and the peace movement were well woven together by the time that law enforcement authorities killed four Kent State students and ten days later killed two more students at Jackson State.

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A.1. Student Activism in the Civil Rights Movement

The modern civil rights movement had its beginnings in the early 1950s in the desegregation cases leading to *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954 and the subsequent founding of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in 1957 by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Ralph Abernathy, Joseph Lowery, and other mostly Baptist ministers (Young 1996:137). Student protest as one aspect of this growing social movement was marked on February 1, 1960, when, "four black students from North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College staged an historic sit-in at a segregated lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina," after which, "the spread of sit-ins and other civil rights activities aroused the conscience of the nation and encouraged many students to express their support for civil rights through nonviolent direct action" (Scranton 1970:21). The next month saw the formation at Shaw University of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), dedicated to the fight against racial discrimination. Ella Baker, a veteran of SCLC, but dissatisfied with the lack of a leadership role for her under the Baptist mindset, was one of its founders (Young 1996:137). Other SCLC leaders included John Lewis, James Forman, Robert Moses, Marion Barry, and Stokely Carmichael. SNCC, which bore the emblem of a black hand and a white hand clasped in solidarity, was closely linked to the SCLC through its dependency on that organization for funds (Young 1996:164). Funds and support also came from "Friends of SNCC" chapters on northern campuses, notably at NYU, Chicago, and Berkeley. The year 1960 also brought landmark legislation that would inspire further protests in which students played key roles: the Voting Rights Act, which outlawed discrimination obstructing voter registration, and *Boyton v. Virginia*, which ruled for the desegregation of interstate bus terminals and facilities. By May of 1961, Freedom Riders including student protestors began to test *Boyton v. Virginia*.

Students participating in the civil rights movement in the early sixties put their ideas into practice not only as Freedom Riders, but by founding new student-based organizations such as the Students for a Democratic Society and the Free Speech Movement. In 1962 at Port Huron, Michigan, the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) declared its platform as, "participatory democracy," and practiced its convictions through such efforts as, "organiz[ing] slum dwellers in northern cities" (Scranton 1970:22). Tom Hayden, Todd Gitlin, Alan Haber, Paul Potter, and Carl Oglesby, a Kent State student, were among its early leaders. Their doctrine opens with:

We are people of this generation, bred in at least modest comfort, housed now in universities, looking uncomfortably to the world we inherit . . .

In addition to fighting racial and economic inequality, SDS decried nuclear armament, the military-industrial complex, depersonalization, and an apathetic and ineffective university system—values widely shared by college students by 1970 when the shootings at Kent State would occur. In 1964, the Mississippi Freedom Summer Project saw 1000 students from all over the country organized by SNCC, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and other civil rights groups arrive in the South to

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conduct a massive voter registration and summer school program. Mario Savio, the future leader of the Free Speech Movement at the University of California, Berkeley, was one of these students. The first of the Freedom volunteers were trained at Western College for Women (now part of Miami University) in Oxford, Ohio, in June, 1964 (The Martin Luther King, Jr., Research and Education Institute n.d.). Later that same month, local law enforcement officials and Klansmen near Meridian, Mississippi, would take part in the murder of three of these civil rights workers trained in Oxford (Congress of Racial Equality n.d.). In the fall of 1964 at UC Berkeley, one of the earliest non-HBUC campuses to adopt the methods of their brothers and sisters in the civil rights movement, students protested the university's sudden invocation of a rule prohibiting political groups from soliciting on campus. When the university suspended eight students who tested the rule and arrested another nonstudent activist, students staged a 32-hour sit-in around the campus police car holding the arrested party. Within two months, a coalition of the political groups on campus formed the Free Speech Movement (FSM) and staged a sit-in in the university administration building, which was subsequently brought to an end by the police (Scranton 1970:23). University-imposed penalties and the decision by Governor Brown to send in non-university police were signs that, as in Mississippi, the force with which student protest would be met would not be restricted to African Americans.

A.2. Broader Social Protest and Authoritarian Response

In the second half of the sixties, racial discrimination spurred outbursts in the nation's cities, while continuing to foster student protest. Law enforcement authorities responded with increasing violence. On "Bloody Sunday," March 7, 1965, state troopers and deputies viciously attacked protestors marching from Selma to Montgomery after they crossed the Edmund Pettus Bridge outside of Selma. Later that year, in August, riots erupted in Watts, a predominantly African American community in Los Angeles, and other cities around the country (Mayer 1972, vol. I:4). There were additional riots in Watts in March of 1967, followed by riots in Newark, New Jersey, Detroit, and Minneapolis in July. National Guard units were activated in Detroit, Minneapolis, and Newark. Regarding the Newark situation, the New Jersey Governor's Select Commission on Civil Disorders later found that, "excessive and unnecessary force," had been used by the New Jersey National Guard (Mayer 1972, vol. I:6-7). These incidents in part caused President Lyndon Johnson to appoint a National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, with Otto Kerner, former governor of Illinois, as chair, in July 1967. The commission's findings on the 1967 riots held that they were not part of an organized conspiracy, but rather resulted from the accumulation of social ills, among them, high unemployment, inadequate housing, racial discrimination, and police repression (Mayer 1972, vol. I:6-7). The next year, on February 8, after being rebuffed in their attempts to put out a bonfire, state troopers fired into a crowd of South Carolina State University student protestors who had gathered on campus two days after a failed attempt to desegregate the city's only bowling alley in Orangeburg. Twenty-seven students were wounded and three were killed. On April 4, 1968, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was assassinated in Memphis, prompting an outbreak of racial violence in 125 cities across the country. Senator Robert F. Kennedy, viewed by students and others as a hope for the end to

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violence domestically and in Vietnam should he win the presidency, broke the news to an audience of African Americans in Indianapolis that had gathered for his scheduled campaign speech. Citing the loss in his own family, Kennedy acknowledged the bitterness that his listeners would feel over the death of King, but implored them to continue to work together to change the country for the better. Eight weeks later, RFK himself was assassinated on June 5, 1968, in Los Angeles, on the evening that he celebrated his victory in the California primary.

On July 29, 1968, racial conflict broke out in the Glenville area of Cleveland in Northeast Ohio. The Ohio National Guard was brought in to assist the police, but this did not prevent extensive looting, arson, and eleven dead (including three police). In this context, on August 10, 1968, the Kerner Commission formally urged the improvement of riot control training for the National Guard. When the Democratic National Convention was held in Chicago later that month, street demonstrations were met by the Illinois National Guard and federal troops, which were used to support the police. The subsequent Walker Report would conclude that the resulting violence constituted, "a police riot." At the Republican Convention in Miami Beach, an undaunted Ralph Abernathy, successor to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., as head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, led a demonstration to call attention to the plight of the poor in the United States. In late August, racial unrest in Ohio continued, with episodes of arson and looting in Lima and Middletown and the enforcement of a curfew in Akron, Ohio (Mayer 1972, vol. I:9).

Even as racial unrest spread throughout the nation's cities in the latter half of the decade, the number of sit-ins, walkouts, and confrontations increased at U.S. universities. In May 1967, the National Guard occupied the grounds of Jackson State following disturbances on campus (Mayer 1972, vol. I:6). A known, non-student civil rights activist, Ben Brown, was shot and killed when he exited a restaurant on Lynch Street at the time a demonstration was taking place. In late April 1968, the proposed construction of a gymnasium by Columbia University in a neighboring New York City park separating the campus from working-class Harlem initiated a major student protest at that university. "Black Power" and "student power" proponents presented an escalating series of demands resulting in the cancellation of classes and the sealing off of the campus. On April 30, 1968, 1,000 city policemen forcibly removed the protesters from university property. 707 people were arrested, a number that included nine percent of Columbia College's total enrollment and six percent of Barnard College's undergraduate students (Mayer 1972, vol. I:8). On May 3, 1968, African American students at Northwestern University seized the business office and demanded separate black housing, more scholarships, more black faculty, and courses designed specifically for African Americans. The university agreed to these demands. That same month, students at Stanford University occupied a building to protest the suspension of seven students who had led a demonstration the preceding fall against CIA recruitment on campus (Mayer 1972, vol. I:5). In 1968, students also seized the administration building at the University of Chicago, Ohio State University, and Howard University. The trend continued in 1969 at Harvard University, where student concerns included university policies on ROTC and ownership of working-class housing. On May 7, 1969,

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paralleling the situation at Northwestern University the previous year, students at historically black Howard University seized eight buildings and forced the university to close.

A.3. The Pattern of Student Protest and Law Enforcement Response

According to the President's Commission on Campus Unrest, university protests that originated in the Free Speech Movement at the University of California, Berkeley "altered the character of American student activism in a fundamental way" (Scranton 1970:24). The main characteristics of the "Berkeley Invention" were: the initiation by a core group of activists; the meshing of "major social and political issues with local university issues; the disruption of the administration of the university; police intervention, which, in turn, rallied moderate students; and decision-making among the protestors through consensus (Scranton 1970:25-27). "The high spirits and defiance of authority that had characterized the traditional school riot were now joined to youthful idealism and to social objectives of the highest importance" (Scranton 1970:28). By 1970, public officials and administrators at universities across the country were well schooled in the history and lessons of the Berkeley invention. However, the central concern of the authorities was the issue of civil disturbance, not civil disobedience directed at social injustice. They steeled themselves for an escalation of events and vowed to act forcefully. In May 1968, Governor Ronald Reagan of California ordered the destruction of People's Park at UC Berkeley. "'The repression was so brutal.' For those who paid attention to Berkeley, the sense of white exemption died there, a full year before Kent State," Todd Gitlin says in his chronicle of the sixties (1993:361). Two years later, on April 7, 1970, Reagan tried to rally support when addressing an audience of alumni of the University of California system by pronouncing that radical student protestors should be told, "If it takes a bloodbath now let's get it over with." "The 'bloodbath' statement caught nationwide attention, and was interpreted as Reagan's desire to have a confrontation with students" (Skinner, et al. 2003:191). A decade later, still asked by the public about his remark, Reagan explained that his figure of speech was misunderstood; he meant that the university administration would have to "take their bloodbath" by exacting firmer discipline on the dissenters:

This was during the period when Wheeler Hall was burned and when an attempt was made to set fire to the great university library. . . . [T]he university administrators had . . . tried to discuss the differences with the dissenters. But as dissent grew into violence . . . the university administrators were finally coming to the realization that the dissenters were going beyond dissent and did not want a reasoned discussion on their differences and they, the administrators, were in effect indulging in appeasement. I then said these administrators had come to realize the error of their ways and now knew they had to deal directly with the violence. And that is where I used, as a figure of speech, the expression that they, the administrators, knew they were going to have to take their bloodbath by resisting the rioters with expulsion, suspension, etc. (Skinner, et al. 2003:191-192)

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Significantly, Reagan borrowed Nixon's pronouncement on Kent State—"when dissent turns to violence it invites tragedy"—as he sought to correct the historical record. Still, there was a discernable, executive-level perspective on student protestors, and the President's Commission made a key point in recommending that, "public officials at all levels of government . . . recognize that their public statements can either heal or divide. Harsh and bitter rhetoric can set citizen against citizen, exacerbate tension, and encourage violence" (Scranton 1970:10). Nixon's Vice President Spiro Agnew, of course, was notable for such rhetoric against antiwar protestors, calling them, "home front snipers" and referring to colleges as, "circus tents or psychiatric centers for over-privileged, under-disciplined irresponsible children" (quoted in Rosenberg 2001:18).

A.4. The Student Antiwar Movement Emerges

As student activism became more visible across the nation, its concerns for social justice intertwined with the escalation of the Vietnam War. The peace movement became an antiwar movement. The President's Commission noted:

The growing frequency with which campus protest reflected the Berkeley scenario was largely the result of the emergence and development of three issues: American involvement in the war in Southeast Asia, the slow progress of American society toward racial equality, and charges of 'unresponsiveness' against the federal government and the university and against their 'repressive' reaction to student demands. (Scranton 1970:29-30)

The U.S. began funding South Vietnam's war efforts in 1955, soon after the generation that would protest the war was born. As that generation hit adolescence, John F. Kennedy, the youngest president in U.S. history told them:

[T]he torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans—born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage, and unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this nation has always been committed, and to which we are committed today at home and around the world.

The student SDS authors of the Port Huron Statement heard in Kennedy's inaugural speech and saw in his sending of "advisors" to South Vietnam in 1962, the year of their statement, a perpetuation of the military-industrial complex. Lyndon Johnson, who had hoped to found his legacy on attacking poverty, would go down in history instead for his escalation of the war. Johnson sent the first U.S. combat troops to Vietnam in March 1965. That month saw the first SDS-sponsored "teach-in," held at the University of Michigan and followed by 35 others throughout the country. In April came the first major antiwar demonstration of the Vietnam era—a march on Washington organized by SDS, SNCC, and other activist groups, in which approximately 25,000 people participated. Gitlin would contend

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that the crowd felt the best speech of the day was delivered by Paul Potter, the president of SDS: "His argument was that the brutality manifested in Vietnam was connected to the brutality of American society and that in order to stop the war we had to change the system" (Appy 2003:266). 1965 also marked a renewed connection of civil rights leaders, notably the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., with student protesters and the antiwar movement. Coretta Scott King had been active in this area going back to her student days at Antioch College in Ohio when she worked for the Women's Strike for Peace. Dr. King often asked her to appear at peace demonstrations in his stead, especially prior to his strong and very public anti-Vietnam Riverside Church speech, regarded by some as one of the finest of his career (Young 1996:424-34). The formation of the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in 1966 further marked a clear, "coming together of the civil rights and anti-war movements," with numerous former SNCC organizers such as James Bevel and Bernard Lafayette now coming north to work in the growing antiwar campaign (Becker 2001:310).

Despite increasing protest, the war continued to escalate. As Stanley Karnow (1984:696-697) relates, by the end of 1967, the number of U.S. troops in Vietnam increased from 200,000 to half a million. As it had been in the civil rights movement, 1968 was a decisive year in the Vietnam story. In late January, the Tet offensive began with well-coordinated, widespread attacks by the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong (North Vietnamese guerilla forces) on more than 100 South Vietnamese cities and towns, including the historic city of Hue. In Saigon, the American Embassy was attacked and five soldiers were killed (Karnow 1984:539). After three weeks of fighting, Hue was recaptured by South Vietnamese troops. General William Westmoreland sent a request for more than 200,000 additional troops, but the request was denied. Within a month, in late February, well-respected CBS television news anchor Walter Cronkite returned from Vietnam to predict that the war could not be won and would likely end in stalemate (Karnow 1984:561). Expecting middle America to agree, Johnson announced he would not seek a second term as president, leaving the Democratic nomination to his vice president, Hubert Humphrey, who was narrowly defeated by Richard Nixon. Nixon assured America that he, "would end the war and win the peace," which some interpreted to mean that he now had a secret plan to end the war (Karnow 1984:597).

In 1969, the long process of peace talks, which had begun January 25 of that year, continued in Paris, with expanded delegations including members of the Saigon government and the Vietcong. In June, President Nixon began withdrawing troops from Vietnam as part of his "Vietnamization" efforts. Nevertheless, antiwar protests continued, with huge rallies in Washington, D.C., in October and November, the latter drawing over half a million people (Karnow 1984:697-698). The diffuse leadership of such efforts was in the hands of groups such as Cleveland Peace Action, the American Friends Service Committee, the Black United Front, and the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. In mid-November, news of the My Lai massacre, which had occurred in 1968, was revealed by the press to the general public, generating protest on college and university campuses (Karnow 1984:698) by those reviled by the brutality of which Paul Potter had spoken during the first march on Washington in 1965. In addition to a general dissatisfaction with the justification for the

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Vietnam War, the increased relevance of the draft for college students brought immediacy to opposition of the war. One particular issue of contention for college student protestors was the request by draft boards for universities to turn over the academic records of draft-age students. As early as May 1966, there had been a major student sit-in in the Administration Building on the University of Wisconsin-Madison campus to protest draft deferment examinations. On March 4, 1967, a presidential commission had recommended comprehensive revisions of the Selective Service law, including termination of deferments for graduate students, the institution of a lottery system, and the calling up of 19-year-olds first. Subsequently, students around the country gathered around TV sets wherever they could find them the evening of December 1, 1969, to see where they and their brethren would hit in the first draft lottery since 1942—proof that Nixon's plan to end the war was failing. A key feature of the Vietnam draft was a change from the "draft the oldest man first" policy for men aged 18-26 to one that featured a random drawing, thus putting larger numbers of younger men at higher risk.

In 1970, peace talks continued, some in secret, and the draw down of troops continued. There was a sense that the war might be coming to an end. However, this all changed the evening of April 30, when President Nixon announced on national television that the United States had invaded Cambodia. This further proof that the war was not ending, but rather spreading (Karnow 1984:624-627), represented the worst of broken promises to the young, including the students of Kent State, who would join the eruption of protest at colleges and universities around the country. Despite warnings from his advisors, Nixon was convinced at this point that the invasion of neutral Cambodia represented the kind of bold action that was necessary to make history, but history has shown his policy here to be flawed, and, in fact, few enemies were found (Shawcross 1979:152). Records of the so-called Daniel Boone squads and the Operation Menu missions also make clear that the United States secretly had been ignoring Cambodia's neutral status for years prior to April 1970 (Karnow 1984:603-607; Shawcross 1979:152). Shortly after the shootings at Kent State, Nixon and his Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, did have doubts about their Cambodian policy, but Nixon said at that point: "Henry, we've done it. Never look back" (Shawcross 1979:154). As Shawcross (1979:153) notes, "now Kent and Cambodia were to be forever linked."

A.5. Activism and The Counterculture

By the spring of 1969 and in the wake of the national organization's splintering due to increasing internal political factionalism, the dissolution of SDS chapters began at many college campuses, including Brandeis, Berkeley, Columbia, Texas, Michigan State, and Kent State (see Klatch 1999:201). Still, students throughout the country generally saw themselves as part of a "counterculture" that had infused American society to every corner. The spirit of the Human Be-in, which proclaimed "Make Love Not War" (Gitlin 1993:212), and Summer of Love in 1967 San Francisco had made its way to middle America by the summer of 1969 for "3 Days of Peace & Music" at the Woodstock festival. Grounding her study of the sixties generation on Karl Mannheim's "The

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Problem of Generations," Rebecca Klatch asserts, "Like classes, generations represent an objective condition, regardless of whether individuals consciously recognize their commonality." Those that, "develop a subjective consciousness of their location, thereby becom[e] a potential force of social change" (3). A generation that attended college in unprecedented numbers, students in the sixties entered an environment that supported the questioning of traditional values and bonded with others who were experiencing the same changes (Klatch 1999:4-5). "Other significant factors in the formation of the 1960s leftist youth protest include the effects of affluence on the development of 'post-materialist' values, the significance of growing up in the nuclear age, and the spread of youth culture" (Klatch 1999:5). "To be seen as a hippie in the mid-sixties was . . . not simply to be part of a new fashion trend; it was instead interpreted by many as a commitment to an alternative life course, a sign that one had made a break with the values and ways of life defined by one's parents, school, and community" (Whalen and Flacks 1989, quoted in Klatch 1999:135). "Music was an integral part of the counterculture, a further expression of opposition to established rules and institutions" (Klatch 1999:135). Music, "gave people a sense of generational solidarity and a sense that they were different and a sense different from the rest of the country, different from any other generation in American history, that they were in some ways special and blessed and it gave them a sense of being embattled, of . . . being considered outsiders, reprobates, bad people" (Marcus 1991, quoted in Klatch 1999:135).

"[T]he counterculture was able to reach a much larger audience because of postwar America's middle-class affluence." Young people had more disposable income to spend on clothes and music and mass media had a new ability, "to promote and disseminate youth culture [, thereby] further accelerat[ing] this generation's collective identity" (Klatch 1999:136). Another component of the youth culture that, "acted to unite individuals in opposition to straight society" was drugs (Willis 1976 cited in Klatch 1999:153). Both drug use and the loose "range of beliefs and practices" (Klatch 1999:135) caused the counterculture to be dismissed or damned by at least the earlier SDS members, though other activist groups and individuals would embrace it (Klatch 1999:136-57). For the average college student, harassment for appearance and suspected drug use was more immediate than any disapproval by somewhat older activist members of the generation. "Such repression led to the delegitimation of institutional authority, radicalizing youth along the way" (Mankoff and Flacks 1971 cited in Klatch 1999:156). "If you had started out smoking dope, growing your hair, discarding your bra partly to join the crowd and partly to shock adults . . . only to end up getting harassed and busted, it was natural to ask questions about the society that was treating you like a freak." The police, restaurateurs, landlords, city officials, discriminated actively against, "people whose looks they didn't like." "As old authorities lost their hold, politicians got mileage out of denouncing student radicals and hippies and black militants, all clumped together as battalions undermining the rule of the father-state and the family's own father" (Gitlin 1993:216-217). True radicalization had its limits, however, even for the Left, as the rejection of the revolutionary and violent Weathermen faction by the mainstream SDS illustrated. Activist Lynn Dykstra noted of the time when SDS was approaching complete dissolution at its 1969 convention, "It was more of a martyrdom feeling that we were right and they

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were wrong and if they shot us, it would just help our cause. But we weren't trying to get killed. . . . None of us were *that* crazy" (Klatch 1999:202).

B. Kent State's Place in the National Student Protest Movement

B.1. Student Activism at Kent State

The student protest movement had reached Kent State by the mid-sixties. Between 1965 and 1970, more than 10 student groups were active on the Kent Campus, protesting against the war and on behalf of civil rights issues (Leadbetter 2002:1). Representatives from these groups participated in national-level protests as well. Activities of the Kent Committee to End the War in Vietnam (KCEWV), for instance, made frequent appearances on the front page of the student newspaper. The KCEWV began holding silent vigils on Wednesdays after the beginning of the war in 1965 and organized many rallies (Smith 1965:1). In October 1967, the group recruited 200 people to take part in the National Mobilization Committee's national rally in Washington, D.C., and march on the Pentagon (*Daily Kent Stater* 1967a:2). The group also protested being photographed--characterizing photographing as police harassment; the police in return contended that photos were taken to ensure that no "professional demonstrators" (or "outside troublemakers") were participating in an on-campus demonstration, which would have violated university policy (Feldstein 1967:1; Grisola 1967:1). In November 1967, faculty and graduate student members of the committee held a four-day "Vietnam school" on campus addressing the history of the war and its media coverage (*Daily Kent Stater* 1967b:1). For Veterans Day, the KCEWV vigil was part of a nationwide student protest against Dow Chemical's production of Napalm (Daly 1967:1 and Hille 1967:1). In December, the group protested outside an induction center in Cleveland during National Draft Week (*Daily Kent Stater* 1967c:1). KCEWV started the new year by forming a group to counsel students on draft deferments (Daniels 1968:5).

Classes began at Kent State fall quarter of the landmark year of 1968 with cautioning remarks by President Robert White, aware--as any university administrator in the country would have been--that, "the year ahead could be difficult." Fall enrollment topped 20,000 on the Kent campus, a considerable increase of more than 1700 over the previous year. The term began on Jewish New Year, causing some faculty to cancel classes and some students to see the administration as insensitive (Mayer 1972, vol. I:10). In October 1968, the Kent State chapter of Students for a Democratic Society emerged, "superseding the Kent Committee to End the War in Vietnam" (Bills 1990b:8). On October 8, 300 students took part in the Kent Free University, a teach-in organized by the campus SDS chapter (Markell 1968a:M3-5; Shotsberger 1968:M4-5). Kent State SDS members attended a campaign rally by Richard Nixon at nearby University of Akron, shouting, "we want truth," "law and order, no justice," and "Chicago" (Krawetz 1968:1). The month ended with a visit from Mark Rudd of the Columbia University SDS chapter who addressed 1,000 on campus about

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Columbia's student strike in the spring of that year (*Daily Kent Stater* 1968:11; Markell 1968b:11). On November 13, 1968, a coalition led by SDS and the Black United Students (BUS), which had been formed on the Kent Campus May 21, 1968, staged a sit-in to block recruitment on campus for the police department of Oakland, California (Kent State University, Black United Students n.d.; Haymond, et al. 1968:1, 7). The Oakland police department was notorious for its repressive treatment of the Panthers in their home city, which also had been the site of the largest anti-draft demonstration to that date on October 20, 1967, during the nationwide Stop the Draft Week (BBC News n.d.). After protestors against the Oakland police were brought up on disciplinary charges, 250 black students, "many wearing arm bands marked 'unity' marched off campus" to leave for Akron, Ohio, "in a silent, peaceful demonstration" in support of the students threatened with dismissal and in protest of the denial of amnesty for those students (Hildebrand). They returned after three days, when the University dismissed its case against the students, citing insufficient evidence of disorderly conduct (Armstrong 1968:1).

In the spring of 1969, SDS members began a concerted campaign against university policy, demanding: 1) the abolition of campus ROTC; 2) the termination of the Liquid Crystal Institute; 3) the removal of the state crime laboratory from campus; and 4) the abolition of the degree program in law enforcement. In April 1969, a disciplinary hearing was scheduled for students who attempted to post these demands on the Administration Building—which had led to immediate revocation of the SDS charter. 200 supporters were met by about 50 counter-demonstrators outside the Music and Speech building, where the hearing was to be held and a scuffle ensued. Inside, the hearings were disrupted and shut down. The campus police sealed inside the Music and Speech building those protestors who had entered and turned 58 over to the Highway Patrol for transport to jail. Four SDS leaders were eventually convicted of assault, battery, and inciting to riot and were sentenced to one year in the Portage County jail (Mayer 1972, vol. I:14; *Daily Kent Stater* 1969a:1).

Despite revocation of its charter, the Kent State chapter of the SDS remained active through the remainder of the 1968-69 academic year. On April 28, 1969, Bernardine Dohrn, a well-known SDS national spokesperson, helped lead a teach-in regarding the four demands made by the Kent State SDS two weeks earlier (Darnell 1969:1). On May 22, members of the Kent State SDS chapter attempted, unsuccessfully, to break up an ROTC review. When the Federal House Committee on Internal Security held two days of hearings on the activities of SDS, President Robert White and Chester Williams, Director of Safety and Public Services at Kent State, were among the witnesses on June 24. Williams indicated that campus police were not sufficient to deal with mass violence, but also that arrangements of cooperation with local police and security organizations were in place and had previously been successful (Mayer 1972, vol. 4:60-63). On campus, President White asserted that the University would follow a policy of arrests and suspension for those involved in further disruption (Bills 1990b:9). He further commented:

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Kent State University undeniably faces a crossroad. . . . Universities have never before faced the assaults of the present. They produce tensions and strains, and exact a cost in many ways. Kent State University has become an open and announced target. That seems to be the unfair reward of those institutions which have been the most open." (White quoted in Bills 1990b:9)

The discussion over police and administrative responses to student demonstrations continued at Kent State with the submission of a position paper on September 8, 1969, to President White by Barclay McMillen, a faculty member in political science and the president's assistant. McMillen emphasized, "personalizing the university" as a strategy for combating student disaffection and potential police excesses (Mayer 1972, vol. I:13).

The University opened for the academic year of 1969-70 without special note on September 29, 1969. Then on October 15, 1969, Kent State University students participated in the National Moratorium, a massive nationwide protest of the Vietnam War, purported to be the largest anti-war protest to that time in United States history (Fig. 1). The *Daily Kent Stater* reported that 3,500 students participated on the Kent State campus, which featured a march through campus and into the downtown area with peaceful demonstrations and class absences (*Daily Kent Stater* 1969b:1, 3; Mayer 1972, vol. I:14). A second national moratorium was held November 15, 1969, in San Francisco and Washington, D.C. Arriving on the bus organized by the campus Student Mobilization Committee (SMC) chapter (Leadbetter 2002:7) and in cars and vans, Kent State students were counted in the crowd of half a million at the Washington demonstration. That fall also featured such local protests as the serving of a thin broth of unseasoned pumpkin soup to passersby in front of the student union. The soup, identified as staple fare of the Vietnamese diet, symbolized the simplicity of the nation of farmers upon which the United States swept down with all of its military power and machinery.

Toward the beginning of the second half of the academic year of 1969-1970, the national SMC organized a National Student Anti-War Conference at Case Western University in nearby Cleveland for February 1970. Organizers declared the 3,000 attendees represented, "the biggest gathering of radicals in the U.S." The Kent SMC chapter planned on participating in the April 15 National Student Strike of high schools and colleges throughout the U.S. that the larger SMC group planned, as well as holding a series of smaller protests in the week leading up to the major protest. The local SMC, the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, and the Vietnam Moratorium Committee, the three main activist groups on the Kent State campus, agreed to join forces on that day in a rally themed "Bring all the GI's Home Now" (*Daily Kent Stater* 1970a:3). The first April event, however, was a speech on the 10th by Jerry Rubin, an outspoken YIPPIE leader, a national figure who attracted a crowd of about two thousand to a rally on front campus calling for the young of the white middle-class to, "rise up," because, "[b]eing young in America is illegal" (*Daily Kent Stater* 1970b:1; Michener 1971:179). April 16 saw an encounter between police and marchers at the AT&T building

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in Downtown Kent (Greiner 1970:1). On the first April 22 Earth Day, students, campus and county law enforcement authorities, the county's Animal Protective League, and a Portage County prosecutor all showed up in front of the student union to stop the napalming of a dog, as announced in a Social Problems class by Robby Stamps, who later would be wounded on May 4 (Greenberg 1970:1; Stamps 1995:119). The possession of napalm was a federal offense. Revealing "There is no napalm. There is no dog," one of the six students who had conceived the protest upbraided the crowd for being willing to stop the injury to an animal but not willing to take action to stop the use of the chemical on people in Vietnam (Stamps 1995:122). In the last protest news of April 1970, the four SDS leaders convicted in the Music and Speech incident of April 8, 1969, were released from jail on April 29 (Carpenter 1970:1). The *Daily Kent Stater* ceased publication that spring on April 30, but student photographers would be crucial in documenting the events to unfold beginning the next day.

B.2. The Day the War Came Home

At Kent State in 1970, campus, local, state, and national authorities were better acquainted than many local students with the recent history of the student protest movement. With a perspective informed—consciously or culturally—by the "Berkeley Invention," these authorities perceived the student protest movement to be deeply organized and mobilized in the form of so-called "outside agitators" bent on violence and who were to be suppressed with every measure available. On Friday, May 1, two peaceful demonstrations took place on the Kent State campus following President Nixon's televised announcement of the invasion of neutral Cambodia on April 30, 1970 (Fig. 2). First, in an antiwar demonstration, campus graduate students in history buried a copy of the Constitution (Nixon had "murdered" it) at the base of the Victory Bell. At the end of the rally undergraduate student Ken Hammond, who was aligned with SDS, called for a rally on Monday, May 4, to further consider the escalation of the war—evidenced by bombing within the border of Cambodia—and the response of both Nixon and the University administration. Second, the campus group Black United Students held a rally to protest the violent tactics used by the Ohio National Guard against students of color at Ohio State University during an antiwar demonstration the previous evening. That night (May 1) the mayor of Kent, Leroy Satrom, declared a state of civil emergency following a disturbance downtown and asked the state governor to station the Ohio National Guard in the city. The disturbance was prompted by a mix of political protest, high feeling from the first warm spring night, and disgruntlement when the downtown bars were closed early and hundreds of patrons were forced out on the street all at one time. Approximately two hours after the disturbance began, which resulted in \$10,000 in damages to business property, police dispersed the crowd in the vicinity of Water Street using tear gas. Much of the crowd was forced eastward along Main Street toward the Kent State campus (Mayer 1972, vol. I:14). Sixty people were arrested (Kelner and Munves 1980:1). The remainder of the night was quiet.

Following the downtown disturbance of the previous night, May 2 began with a series of meetings as university and Kent city personnel planned for additional trouble. By some accounts,

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word spread that another rally would be held that evening on campus. Encouraged to do so by Lt. Barnette of the Ohio National Guard, shortly after 5:00 pm, Mayor Satrom requested that the Ohio National Guard be on standby and ready to move into Kent if needed (Mayer 1972, vol. I:17). Students began to gather for the May 2 rally on the Commons and near the main ROTC building, East Hall, shortly before 8:00 pm (Map 3). Participants were estimated at, "between one and two thousand" (Mayer 1972:18) and faculty marshals were in attendance. Sometime between 8:30 and 8:45 pm, there was some level of fire in the ROTC building. Although it is generally assumed that the building was destroyed as a result of attempts by student protesters to burn the building, it also has been suggested that it was the work of outside *agents provocateurs* (Bills 1990b:12-13). Responsibility for the gutting of the building has never been determined.

When the Kent City Fire Department was called to put out the ROTC building fire at about 9:00 pm, their hoses were tugged on and cut by protestors, and its attempt to put out the fire failed (Davies 1973:18; Michener 1971:206-207; see also Kelner and Munves 1980:1). No campus personnel came to the scene at this time. Kent City Police remained downtown to deal with any disturbance there and the State Highway Patrol and the Ohio National Guard moved onto the Kent State University campus (Fig. 3). Since the campus was state property, the commanding officer felt no need to contact the school administration. The Guard then cleared the campus using tear gas and bayonets and the crowd dispersed, some moving toward downtown and others to dormitories. One student was bayoneted near Johnson Hall. A crowd concentrated near the northwest corner of campus at Lincoln and Main streets (Map 1). Shortly after midnight the campus was quiet and a curfew was in force. The Guard was billeted in the Gymnasium and the athletic field south of Summit Avenue was used as a heliport (Mayer 1972, vol. I:19; Bills 1990b:14; Davies 1973:19). The Ohio National Guard in Kent and at Kent State was composed of the 107th Armored Cavalry Regiment and the 145th Infantry Regiment. Together, they numbered 1,196 men, plus their equipment, vehicles, and three helicopters (Kelner and Munves 1980:1). The Guard's presence on campus added to the Cambodian invasion as a focus of discontent for many students (Davies 1973:148).

Governor James Rhodes arrived on the Kent State campus on the morning of May 3, 1970, and declared that the University would remain open, even if force were necessary (Fig. 4). At a morning news conference at the City of Kent fire station, the governor vowed to, "eradicate the problem." Governor Rhodes used the harsh rhetoric of President Nixon and Vice President Agnew as he delivered a literal fist-pounding speech the morning of May 3 that cited previous violent protests at Miami University and Ohio State University and typified protestors at Kent State as, "worse than the 'Brown Shirt' and the communist element and also the 'night riders' and the vigilantes. They're the worst kind of people that we harbor in America." Rhodes vowed, "to employ every force of law," to, "get to the bottom of the situation here at Kent--on the campus--in the city" (Kent State University, Radio-TV Information 1970:1-3). Following his five-minute oration and before taking questions, Rhodes called on other officials to make statements. First, Adjutant General Sylvester Del Corso of the Ohio National Guard asserted, "We will apply whatever degree of force is necessary to provide

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protection for the lives of our citizens and its property." Next, Robert Chiaramonte of the Ohio State Highway Patrol stated that he expected to see sniping next and pledged, "They can expect us to return fire." Third, Leroy Satrom, mayor of Kent, vowed, "We will take all necessary, I repeat, all necessary action to maintain order" (Schmoll 1970). Rhodes also met Kent State President White at the University Airport on Sunday morning to inform him of, "a law-enforcement problem caused by 400 troublemakers who had descended on his campus with a view to closing it," and further that, "the matter was out of White's hands." From that point on, White, "never doubted that the Guard had taken control over the campus" (Kelner and Munves 1980:155). It also should be noted that because of term limits on the governor's office, Rhodes was in the middle of a hotly contested race for the Republican nomination for a U.S. Senate seat, which he eventually lost.

Sunday evening, a student sit-in on the northwest edge of campus at Lincoln and Main was dispersed with teargas and bayonets. Military helicopters flew over the campus with searchlights looking for snipers on building rooftops. Several students received bayonet wounds, and others were hit with rifle butts (Mayer 1972, vol. 1:21; Davies 1973:26-27). The campus was noisy and confused during the rest of the night as helicopters hovered overhead and some students were caught unable to return to their dormitories due to the hurriedly imposed curfew (Mayer 1972, vol. 1:22). Fifty-one students were arrested that night for curfew violations (Davies 1973:28).

May 4, 1970: On Monday, May 4, 1970, the approximate 20,000 students at Kent State University attended their classes as usual, since school was in session, but there was nothing usual about the sunny, brisk spring morning (Fig. 5). The preceding several days had seen intense protest to the Vietnam War, a civil emergency had been declared in Kent on May 2, 1970, and was still in force, a curfew was in effect both in the City of Kent and on the Kent State University campus, and Governor Rhodes had given his "worst type of people" speech (Bills 1990b:13; Davies 1973:21-22; Kelner and Munves 1980). There were 850 Ohio National Guardsmen surrounding the burned ROTC building and posted throughout the campus with bayoneted and loaded rifles (Stone 1970:72). As early as Friday, May 1, 1970, another campus rally had been announced for noon on Monday, May 4 (Michener 1970:327).

Morning classes on May 4, 1970, began with somewhat higher than normal student absenteeism, but with a "superficial appearance of normality" (Mayer 1972, vol. 1:22). There was a series of bomb threats and one classroom building was evacuated. The Ohio National Guardsmen stood at their posts throughout campus in full gear with bayoneted rifles guarding the entrances to the campus, its buildings, and the ROTC building. At 7:00 a.m., University President Robert I. White met with his cabinet and at 8:00 a.m. with the Executive Committee of the Faculty Senate. At the latter meeting he agreed to hold a faculty meeting to discuss the situation on campus (Scranton 1970:259). At 10:00 a.m., a meeting was called by General Canterbury of the Ohio National Guard. The meeting was attended by the Guard legal officer Major William R. Shimp; University officials President White and Vice President Matson; the Kent City Mayor Satrom; the Kent City Police Chief Roy Thompson

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and its Safety Director, Paul Hershey; and Major Donald E. Manly of the Ohio Highway Patrol (Scranton 1970:260). Because there was confusion over the two sets of curfew hours established for the City of Kent and the campus, it was decided that a single curfew from 8:00 p.m. to 6 a.m. would be enforced by both. Also at this meeting General Canterbury commented that he wanted to withdraw his troops as soon as possible, perhaps as early as that evening. Toward the end of the meeting there was some discussion over the noon rally scheduled on the Kent campus (Best 2000:19). There are differing accounts regarding the resolution of this decision according to testimony before the President's Commission on Campus Unrest and in later court testimony. For example, General Canterbury testified that the first time he learned about this rally was at this morning meeting when he had asked President White if the rally should be banned and White had responded that it should be. However, President White later refuted that claim stating, "From past history, all know that my response would have been affirmative to a rally" (Scranton 1970:261). Confusion was evident in the minds of other participants at the meeting as well; some did not recall President White agreeing that the rally should be banned but did come away thinking that the rally was banned (Scranton 1970:261). In sum, among students and administrators on May 4, 1970, there was confusion as to whether or not any additional rallies were legally permitted, but word spread that there would be a rally on the Commons at noon regardless.

It should be noted in retrospect that although Mayor Satrom had declared a Civil Emergency on May 2, 1970, and troops had been called in to assist civil authority, no injunction required for a "state of emergency" was obtained by noon on May 4. The extent to which the Guard's prerogatives for the City of Kent as negotiated between Mayor Satrom and Major General Del Corso extended to the Kent State campus also remains unclear. At the time, the statement by Major Harry Jones that the Guard was legally empowered to forbid public gatherings on campus was accepted as truth (Michener 1971:324-325). Based on this discussion, the University prepared and distributed 12,000 leaflets to students, later referred to as the Matson and Frisina Letter. Robert Matson was the Kent State University Vice President for Student Affairs and Frank Frisina was the student body president. "The leaflet listed curfew hours; said the governor through the National Guard had assumed legal control of the campus; stated that all outdoor demonstrations and rallies, peaceful or otherwise, were prohibited by the state of emergency; and said the Guard was empowered to make arrests" (Scranton 1970:255). Many of the students were unaware of the directives in this letter because it was placed in student mailboxes and students did not read it until after the shootings, or they disregarded it, or did not receive it because they lived off campus (Michener 1971:325). At 11:15 a.m., a meeting between city, Kent State, police, and military leaders was convened to address this confusion, but by that time the rally at the Victory Bell already was beginning.

The Victory Bell began tolling around 11:00 a.m., summoning people to the rally on the Commons. At approximately 11:30 a.m., General Canterbury arrived at the Campus Administration Building—the headquarters for the Guard. Upon entering the building he said that the rally on the Commons was banned. "Major John Simons, chaplain of the 107th Armored Cavalry Regiment,

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expressed concern that the students might be unaware that the noon rally had been prohibited. He [Canterbury] said a campus official told him that the University radio station would 'spread the word' (Scranton 1970:261). General Canterbury, who did not have time to change into his uniform, and Lieutenant Colonel Charles Fassinger, the highest-ranking uniformed officer in command during the rally, arrived at the Commons between 11:30 and 11:49 a.m. They saw the crowd growing larger, from about 500 to around 2,000 by noon (Scranton 1970:263-265). According to the U.S. Department of Justice's summary of the FBI report, the number of students around the Victory Bell was estimated at 200-300, with another 1,000 or so on Blanket Hill behind the demonstrators (Stone 1970:75). By 11:45 a.m., the troops had taken their position around the ruins of the ROTC building at the northern edge of the Commons (Fig. 6). There were 113 Guardsmen on the Commons at this time: 51 from Alpha Company, 145th Infantry; 36 from Charlie Company, First Battalion, 145th Infantry; 16 from Troop G, Second Squadron, 107th Armored Cavalry Regiment; and 10 officers. Troops were led by General Canterbury, Lt. Col. Fassinger, and Major Jones (Davies 1973:34; Michener 1970: 329-330). Fassinger ordered the troops to form a line near the ROTC site and to lock and load (Scranton 1970:263).

At the time the rally was beginning, morning classes were ending. Many students were breaking for lunch or returning to their dorms. The student union or "Hub," a place where students could go for lunch or to talk and relax between classes, was adjacent to the Commons and near the ruins of the ROTC building. With the Commons as the center and heartbeat of the campus, the crowd size grew quickly. The lay of the land encouraged onlookers as well: "the hills made a natural amphitheater from which students could watch events on the Commons floor" (Scranton 1970:265). The motivation for those on the Commons at this time thus varied: some were protesting the continued occupation of the Guard and the treatment of students on *their* college campus; some were continuing the protest lodged on Friday after President Nixon announced the incursion into Cambodia; and others were curious passersby crossing the Commons on their way to and from class. Faculty marshals were present at the site of the rally, as they had been at rallies of the previous few days.

At 11:45 a.m., as the Guard formed up near the ROTC building; protestors were located around the Victory Bell approximately 170 yard to the east (Fig. 7). By all accounts the assembly was peaceful (Scranton 1970: 288; Stone 1970:75). General Canterbury ordered the demonstrators to leave the Commons. Because of the noise and the distance, his orders were not heard. KSU Police officer Harold Rice then used a bullhorn to relay the General's orders for the crowd to disperse. The crowd most likely did not hear Rice or if they did, they did not disperse. Next Policeman Rice was driven across the Commons in a military jeep accompanied by two Ohio National Guardsmen, "who rode 'shotgun' in the rear seat." Rice used the bullhorn to announce that, "This assembly is unlawful. The crowd must disperse at this time. This is an order!" (Struggle to Recovery 1970:6). The jeep was met with shouts and jeers by the demonstrators, some chanting, "Pigs off campus!" and "1, 2, 3, 4. We don't want your fucking war," and, "Power to the people," and, "Strike, Strike, Strike" (Scranton

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1970:263; Stone 1970:76; Struggle to Recovery 1970:6). Some of the demonstrators threw rocks, with one hitting and bouncing off the jeep. The jeep went back to the line of Guardsmen near the ROTC site. The crowd cheered. The crowd remained in place at the Victory Bell. Several gestured unfavorably to the Guard. The jeep went out two other times, each time being met with cheers as it retreated. The third time Major Harry Jones ran out to the jeep and ordered it to return to the line of Guardsmen at the northwestern corner of the Commons (Scranton 1970:264; Stone 1970:77).

The dispersal announcement by jeep and bullhorn was ineffectual in disbanding the peaceful rally. General Canterbury next gave the order to shoot tear gas into the crowd to disperse it. Lt. Colonel Charles Fassinger ordered eight to ten grenadiers with M-79 grenade launchers to fire two volleys of tear gas into the crowd (Scranton 1970:265). This did cause some of the crowd to scatter and retreat slightly up Blanket Hill toward Taylor Hall. Some of the tear gas canisters fell short because of poor aim and the 15-mile-per-hour winds that were blowing from the southwest (Tragedy in our Midst 1970:A22). Some of the tear gas canisters were thrown back in the direction of the line of the Guard. This caused some in the crowd to cheer and chant, "Pigs off campus" (Stone 1970:77). At this point, another announcement was made over a loudspeaker for all to disperse. Some demonstrators responded with chants and jeers. According to the President's Commission on Campus Unrest (Scranton 1970:267), "Many students felt that the campus was their 'turf.' Unclear about the authority vested in the Guard by the governor, or indifferent to it, some also felt that their constitutional right to free assembly was being infringed upon. As they saw it, they had been ordered to disperse at a time when no rocks had been thrown and no violence or wrong act had been committed. Many told interviewers later, 'We weren't doing anything.'"

At approximately 12:05 p.m., General Canterbury ordered the troops to advance on the demonstrators (Fig. 8). Thirty Ohio State Highway Patrolmen stayed on the Commons ready to make any necessary arrests (Stone 1970:78). As reported by Michener (1971:331), General Canterbury said, "These students . . . are going to have to find out what law and order is all about." The Guardsmen, with gas masks on, bayonets fixed, and rifles locked and loaded with one round of ammunition in the chamber, advanced toward the crowd. Company A was on the right flank, Company C was on the left flank and Troop G took the middle. As the Guard advanced they launched more tear gas into the crowd. Because of the tear gas and the advancing armed troops, some of the demonstrators retreated up Blanket Hill between Taylor Hall and Johnson Hall; others retreated toward the east between Taylor Hall and Prentice Hall and some retreated inside the buildings to avoid the tear gas and to put water on their faces (Fig. 9, Fig. 10). Once the Guard was near the Victory Bell, the troops split into two groups. Company C commanded by Major Harry Jones went up Blanket Hill toward the eastern side of Taylor Hall and blocked the passageway between Taylor and Prentice Hall (Map 3). Troop G and Company A, commanded by General Canterbury and Lt. Colonel Fassinger, followed the majority of demonstrators up Blanket Hill between Taylor and Johnson Hall (Stone 1970:78).

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After advancing up Blanket Hill, Company C on the east flank held a line between Taylor and Prentice Hall that prevented any demonstrators from returning to the Commons. Company A and Troop G upon reaching the top of Blanket Hill near the Pagoda (the highest piece of land), rather than remaining there to block reentry to the Commons, proceeded down the western side of Taylor Hall toward the Practice Field. The demonstrators split to let the Guard pass. Some of the demonstrators retreated down the hill toward Lake and Olson Halls (to the west) to avoid being directly in the path of the Guard as they continued to advance toward the Practice Field. Other demonstrators found themselves on the Practice Field as they retreated in front of the Guard. On their march to the Practice Field the Guard slowed to give these students time to leave the area through a small opening in the Practice Field fence. This took some demonstrators to Midway Drive and a gravel parking lot near Dunbar Hall (Stone 1970:79-80). Most students left the area entirely. At this point, the assembly on the Commons was in fact disbanded and the Guard's mission accomplished.

Company A and Troop G advanced down the reverse slope of Blanket Hill past Taylor Hall, across an access road, and onto the Practice Field itself. Along the far side of the Practice Field to the south and west was a six-foot chain-link fence, capped with barbed wire effectively forming a cul-de-sac for the advancing Guard (Michener 1971:337). According to the President's Commission on Campus Unrest, by this time, "The feeling had spread among students that they were being harassed as a group, that state and civic officials had united against them, and that the university had either cooperated or acquiesced in their suppression. They reacted to the Guardsmen's march with substantial solidarity," vocalized in epithets directed at the Guard. The Guard, on the other hand, "generally felt that the students, who had disobeyed numerous orders to disperse, were clearly in the wrong," and the burning of the ROTC building seemed evidence of the destruction that students could cause (Scranton 1970:266-267).

According to the President's Commission on Campus Unrest, the crowd was split at this time. Some of the more vocal demonstrators ended up in the Prentice Hall Parking Lot, but the majority of the crowd was spread along the balcony of Taylor Hall or onto the hill to the south of Taylor Hall overlooking the Practice Field above the access road. Both the Justice Department, which summarized the FBI Report, and the President's Commission on Campus Unrest concluded that while the Guard was on the Practice Field, demonstrators threw rocks at them. National Guardsmen threw tear gas canisters at the demonstrators in the Prentice Hall Parking Lot and toward those standing on the hill below Taylor Hall and threw some rocks as well. Some canisters were lobbed back at the Guard by the demonstrators. Both groups' reports speculated that a construction site at nearby Dunbar Hall provided rocks and stones to throw (Scranton 1970:267; Stone 1970:80). Some describe the throwing of objects back and forth between the demonstrators and Guardsmen as a "tennis match." This prompted cheers from some onlookers on the hill near Taylor Hall. The distance between the Guardsmen and the students made many of the rocks ineffective, although four Guardsmen claimed they were hit with rocks at this time (Stone 1970:81). "The distances between the mass of the students and the Guards were later stepped off by expert judges, who concluded that

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students would have required good right arms like Mickey Mantle's to have reached the Guardsmen with even small stones" (Michener 1970:336).

During their 10-minute stay on the Practice Field, some members of Troop G were ordered to kneel and point their rifles toward the demonstrators (Scranton 1970:268; Stone 1970:82). The demonstrators in the Prentice Hall Parking Lot directly in the line of fire of the kneeling Guardsmen were between 150 and 200 feet away (Davies 1973:41). One of the demonstrators, who would later be shot, Alan Canfora, went inside the Practice Field fence and waved a black flag to protest the Guard's actions (Fig. 11, Fig. 12, Map 3). Although the Justice Department summary report and the *Report of the President's Commission on Campus Unrest* both conclude that this was the time that the National Guard troops were receiving the most verbal and physical abuse, the Guard aimed their rifles but did not shoot in self-defense, an explanation they would later claim as the reason for the subsequent shootings on Blanket Hill. Major Jones, who had accompanied Captain Snyder and the members of Company C to their position to the east of Taylor Hall blocking access to the Commons, "walked through the crowd to find out if General Canterbury wanted assistance" (Stone 1970:82). Davies (1973:38-39) concludes: "If the demonstrators were as dangerous as Canterbury claimed after the killings, could a solitary officer have elbowed his way through them without some kind of incident? Yet that is exactly what happened."

At the time that Major Jones was on the Practice Field, there was a "huddle" of the Guard leadership, prompting some to speculate that it was at this time that tactics were developed that included firing directly on the demonstrators (Davies 1973:41-42; Michener 1971:409-410). General Canterbury was photographed talking with Major Jones and other officers in the "huddle." Michener (1971:361) concludes that there was not necessarily an order to fire given at that time, but: "It seems likely, however, that on the football field, when the students were being obnoxious and stones were drifting in, that some of the troops agreed among themselves, 'We've taken about enough of this crap. If they don't stop pretty soon we're going to let them have it.'" He further concludes, "it seems likely that some kind of rough verbal agreement had been reached among the troops when they clustered on the practice field" (Michener 1971:409-410).

According to the President's Commission on Campus Unrest, General Canterbury realized that there was nothing more his troops could do on the Practice Field so he ordered them to retrace their steps up Blanket Hill and then back down to the remains of the ROTC building on the far side of the Commons (1970:268). Canterbury explained: "My purpose was to make it clear beyond any doubt to the mob that our posture was now defensive and that we were clearly returning to the Commons, thus reducing the possibility of injury to either soldiers or students" (Scranton 1970:268). There was some speculation that the troops had used all of their tear gas on the Practice Field and had none left for the return march to the ROTC building. This was not the case. "Captain Srp and Lieutenant Stevenson of Troop G were aware that a limited supply of tear gas remained and Srp ordered one canister loaded for use at the crest of Blanket Hill" (Stone 1970:82). General Canterbury and Major

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Jones both claimed under oath that the Guard spent all of their tear gas canisters while on the Practice Field. As the Guard marched off the Practice Field and back up Blanket Hill, they formed a line that became a wedge- or V-shaped formation (Fig. 13, Fig. 14). According to Davies (1973:42-43) a sequence of photographs used in the subsequent court trials illustrate that members of Troop G lagged behind the others and seemed to be more concerned with the demonstrators in the Prentice Hall Parking Lot much farther away from them than other demonstrators that were closer and in the vicinity of Taylor Hall. Photos show Guardsmen other than members of Troop G looking forward as they advance up the hill.

On seeing what they perceived as a retreat of the Guard, some students felt that everything was over. Some followed behind the Guard at a distance of 60 feet or greater. An 8mm film by student Christopher Abell shows:

A member of Troop G, looking over his shoulder and down toward the parking lot, would have seen five students at a distance of 60 to 85 feet, 25 students between 85 and 175 feet, and 30 students between 175 and 325 feet. . . .

The evidence of the film is that at no time before Troop G opened fire were they being approached by more than 17 students, that none of the approaching students was closer than 85 feet, and that 10 of them were more than 175 feet away. . . .

The film provides conclusive evidence that the guardsmen had not been rushed. (Kelner and Munves 1980: 174-175).

As the Guard marched up the hill, the crowd ahead parted to let them by (Fig. 15). Some demonstrators threw rocks at the Guard as they marched up the hill toward the Pagoda (Scranton 1970: 270-271), but rocks were not thrown at the time of the shooting (Stone 1970:87).

As the Guard approached the Pagoda from the south around 12:24 p.m., apparently en route to the ROTC building straight ahead down the north slope of Blanket Hill, some Guardsmen on the trailing edge of the right flank, mostly from Troop G, wheeled 135 degrees (Michener 1970:340) to the right to face the direction of the Prentice Hall Parking Lot to the east (Fig. 16). By all eyewitness accounts and photographic evidence, these Guardsmen turned in unison, lifted their rifles in unison, pointed their weapons in unison, and began shooting for 13 seconds, expending 67 rounds (Kelner and Munves 1980:177). While the men were firing, Lt. Colonel Fassinger, Major Jones and General Canterbury yelled, "Cease Fire!" Major Jones hit several men on the helmet to stop their firing (Best 2000:25). Students dove for cover during the 13 seconds of gunfire--some unsuccessfully (Fig. 17, Fig. 18, Fig. 19).

Four Kent State University students were killed on May 4, 1970. Allison B. Krause, a 19-year-old Honors College art student, was diving for cover in the Prentice Hall Parking Lot when she was shot (Map 3). She was 110 yards away from the line of Guardsmen as a bullet passed through her

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left upper arm and into her left side. Sandra Lee Scheuer, a 20-year-old speech pathology and audiology major, was shot in the front side of her neck on her way to a speech therapy class. She was 130 yards away from the line of fire. Jeffrey Glenn Miller, a 20-year-old psychology student, was shot in the mouth while facing the Guard 85-90 yards away. William Knox Schroeder, a 19-year-old psychology major and member of the ROTC, was shot in the back at the seventh rib while lying prone 130 yards from the firing position.

Nine Kent State students were wounded. Joseph Lewis (20 yards) was shot twice in the right abdomen and the left lower leg; he was closest to the Guard on a walkway near Taylor Hall. John Cleary (37 yards), who fell near the *Solar Totem* sculpture in front of Taylor Hall, was shot in the left upper chest (Fig. 20). Thomas M. Grace (75 yards) was shot in the left ankle. Alan Canfora (75 yards) was shot in the right wrist as he was diving for cover behind a tree. Dean Kahler (95-100 yards) was shot in the left side of the small of his back while lying prone on the ground near the access road. He was permanently paralyzed from the bullet. Douglas Wrentmore (110 yards) was wounded in the right knee. James D. Russell (125-130 yards) was the only person outside the angle of gun firing leading to the Prentice Hall Parking Lot. He was near the Memorial Gymnasium and at an angle approximately 90 degrees from the other students. His wounds in the head and right thigh were caused by a shotgun blast. Robert F. Stamps (165 yards) was shot in the right buttock. The student wounded farthest from the Guard position, D. Scott Mackenzie, was 245-250 yards away and was shot in the left rear of the neck (Scranton 1970:273-274; Davies 1973:52-55). All individuals shot on May 4, 1970, were Kent State University students. They were not outside agitators or SDS Weatherman. In Michener (1971:352, 409, 411), Mayer (1972, vol. 4:2-23), and reported by syndicated columnist Victor Riesel (in Davies 1973: 142), it is suggested or stated that outside agitators were to blame for much of what happened on May 4, 1970. However, other sources reject the validity of this conclusion (O'Neil 1972: 7; Scranton 1970: 239; Stone 1970: 61; Tragedy in our Midst 1970: A18-19). No disruptive outsiders have been identified as participating in the demonstration on May 4.

While sources vary slightly in their accounting, Kelner and Munves place, "72 armed guardsmen on the top of the hill" at the time of the shooting (1980:192). According to the President's Commission on Campus Unrest, "Twenty-eight Guardsmen have acknowledged firing from Blanket Hill. Of these, 25 fired 55 shots from rifles, two fired five shots from .45 caliber pistols, and one fired a single blast from a shotgun" (Scranton 1970: 273). General Canterbury, Lt. Colonel Fassinger, and Major Jones all claimed to hear a non-military shot which triggered the rest of the volley. The Justice Department summary of the FBI Report concluded, "The FBI has conducted an extensive search and has found nothing to indicate that any person other than a Guardsman fired a weapon" (Stone 1970:89).

Terry Strubbe, a student at Kent State, set his tape recorder on his dorm window on the first floor of Johnson Hall and left for the rally at noon on the Commons nearby. An analysis of that tape

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recording by engineering firm Bolt, Berenek and Newman of Cambridge, Massachusetts, reveals that the first three shots came from M-1 rifles that were located between the Pagoda and the corner of Taylor Hall. They also conclude that there were 67 shots, not 61 as previously reported (Kelner and Munves 1980:177). A recent examination of a digital copy of the Strubbe tape by Alan Canfora, one of the wounded students, indicates a verbal order to fire was given before the volley of shots (Maag 2007). The latter supports the claims of some students and Guardsmen who say they heard an order to fire (Scranton 1970:275).

While sources vary slightly in their accounting, most sources place 76 armed guardsmen and officers on the top of the hill at the time of the shooting (Davies 1973:34; Michener 1970: 329-330). The shooting began with no announcement or warning to the students and no immediate provocation. Some Guardsmen later claimed they fired because their lives were in danger. However, the Justice Department's Summary of the FBI Report noted that, "Six Guardsmen, including two sergeants and Captain Srp of Troop G stated pointedly that the lives of the members of the Guard were not in danger and that it was not a shooting situation," and that, "the claim by the National Guard that their lives were endangered by the students was fabricated subsequent to the event" (Stone 1970:84). Furthermore, they concluded that the Guardsmen were not surrounded by students, nor was there any rock throwing at the time of the shooting as alleged by some Guardsmen (Stone 1970:87). The President's Commission on Campus Unrest concluded that the, "indiscriminate firing of rifles into a crowd of students and the deaths that followed were unnecessary, unwarranted, and inexcusable" (Scranton 1970:289).

After the 13 seconds of gunfire there was an eerie silence. As students lay wounded and dying on the ground, members from Troop G and Company A turned and marched back to the site of the ROTC building where they began—unimpeded by the hundreds of students on Blanket Hill on the north side of Taylor Hall and onlookers on the Student Activities Center roof between Stopher and Johnson Halls to the west of the Commons (Fig. 21).

Company C, in position on the other side of Taylor Hall near the Prentice Hall dorm to the east, did not fire during those 13 seconds. Following the shootings, Captain James Ronald Snyder took seven of his men from this contingent to assess the conditions of the students wounded in the Prentice Hall Parking Lot (Fig. 22). He reportedly looked at two young men and concluded they were dead (Best 2000:25; Scranton 1970:277). Jeffrey Miller had died instantly, but William Schroeder lived for some time after reaching the hospital. Several of his men were near the body of Jeff Miller when some angry students yelled obscenities at them. One of the Guardsmen threw a tear gas pellet at the student group in response (Scranton 1970:277). The members of Company C then returned to their skirmish line and eventually back to the Commons. Captain Snyder told the federal grand jury that he found a pistol on Jeffrey Miller's body, but later admitted he had concocted this story as a strategy to avoid being sued (Kelner and Munves 1980:123-126).

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The students who were witnesses to the shootings were now on their own to care for their fellow classmates who lay dead, dying, and wounded in the Prentice Hall Parking Lot and on Blanket Hill near Taylor Hall. Some ran into the nearby dorms of Prentice and Dunbar Halls to call for ambulances and to find someone to assist them with the dead and wounded. Some went into Taylor Hall to seek out telephones and to seek help. Other students linked arms around the dead and wounded while yet other students administered first aid to those who could still be helped. Some students were frozen in place and were unable to respond to what they had just witnessed. Still others ran to the Commons screaming for ambulances that had not yet arrived. Faculty Marshal Glenn W. Frank, a popular geology professor, rode with an ambulance from the Commons and assisted in getting the dead and wounded onto the ambulances.

As some students were assisting with the dead and wounded, others began to gather on the hill above the Commons. After many of the dead and wounded were taken to hospitals, shocked students milled around and eventually moved toward the Commons. The President's Commission on Campus Unrest estimated the crowd that reconvened on the Commons was between 200 and 300. The National Guard stood at one end of the Commons and the students near the Victory Bell, until the students moved to a grassy slope of land near Stopher and Johnson Halls where they engaged in a sit-in (Fig. 23). Some students expressed anger; others were quiet with shock. General Canterbury and Major Jones were determined to achieve their mission of dispersing the crowd. According to the President's Commission on Campus Unrest, Professor Glenn Frank received permission from General Canterbury to give the faculty marshals some time to try to disperse the students, thereby avoiding any further military action on the part of the Guard. Frank, along with Dr. Seymour Baron a psychology professor, Dr. Mike Lunine, a political science professor, and Steve Sharoff, a history graduate student, tried to get the students to leave the site. The potential for further violence by the Guard was escalating.

James Michener (1971:400-408) provides the most detailed written account of this standoff between the Guard and the students following the shootings, and he focuses particularly on the efforts of Professors Frank, Lunine, and Baron in averting more bloodshed (Fig. 24). Michener reports that a taped voice from the crowd asks: "Are we going to have any kind of retaliation?" Baron argued that there should be no retaliation and that the Guard who shot and killed the students "is going to sweat blood." At this point, Dr. Baron went to the line of Guardsmen and asked who was in charge. An officer pointed to General Canterbury. Baron approached Canterbury and pleaded with him to prevent any further action by the Guard. Canterbury reportedly brushed him aside and growled, "Take this man away" (Michener 1971:402). A captain took Dr. Baron by his arm and escorted him away. Baron asked the captain to release him and indicated that he wanted to go back to the student group to see what he could do. The captain replied, "Good Luck."

When Dr. Baron returned to talk with the crowd of students he had little luck in getting them to disperse and go to their dorms or homes. The students were as steadfast as the Guard—with taped

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statements to the effect that, "If they want to kill us all, let them do it now" (Michener 1971:402). Baron then ran back to General Canterbury with the hope of averting additional violence, pleading with Canterbury that, "'You've got to give those kids some kind of sign.' Canterbury asked, 'Sign of what?' and Baron said, 'That you're not going to shoot. That we can quiet this thing down. Isn't there some kind of order, like 'parade rest?'" (Michener 1971:402). The Guard hearing the words 'parade rest' reportedly dropped their guns from their shoulders, but Canterbury ordered them to shoulder them and they responded to his orders. Again Baron pleaded, "'General, can't you make them stop pointing those guns as if they were going to fire?' General Canterbury reflected, looked at the massed students and said, 'Parade rest'" (Michener 1971:402).

Baron went back to the students and pleaded with them again to realize that they were dealing with a general and with troops with guns they were willing to use again. He warned, "Now if you walk down toward them, I promise you they'll kill you. Now the reason they'll kill you is because they're scared to death . . . there is only one way you're going to stay alive, and that is to stay here. I don't want you going down there" (Michener 1971:404). Someone in the crowd asked, "Who ordered them to shoot?" Baron replied that he didn't know.

The faculty members again sent a representative to the Guard. This time Mike Lunine ran down toward the Guard in search of General Canterbury. Lunine pleaded that there can be no more shootings. Canterbury did not reply. According to Michener (1971:404), two university officials standing with the Guard said, "Those students shouldn't be on that hill. There has to be a line drawn somewhere. We've got to have law and order." Upon hearing this, Dr. Lunine ran back to the crowd on the hill and warned them of what might happen if they didn't move. Lunine then returned to the Guard and once again begged them not to shoot and again one of the University personnel said, "Professor Lunine, the National Guard does not negotiate under siege" (Michener 1971:405). Lunine asked whom they were talking about and the official pointed to the students on the hill. This frightened him deeply and he went back to the students again and pleaded, "Students, the imminence of slaughter is great" (Michener 1971:405). A taped exchange makes clear the severity of the situation (Michener 1971:405):

Baron: I'm scared to death that somebody else is going to get shot and killed.

Voice: Man, you take Martin Luther King. He wouldn't be scared.

Baron: Martin Luther King would not have stayed. Martin Luther King was a man who understood that to win you must live. If you die, you cannot win anything. You must live to win. I don't want you kids to die. That won't win you kids peanuts.

Voice: Let them splatter us right now.

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Baron: There are too many of you who are too damned good to die in this stinking field here.

After this exchange, a graduate student, Steve Sharoff, approached the Guard. He pointed to his faculty marshal armband noting he wanted to speak with General Canterbury. The Guard led him to Canterbury. Sharoff told the General that the students on the hill would not be moved. The General told him to get them out of there. Sharoff replied that the students had just seen four of their friends killed, to which Canterbury replied, "I have my orders. They have got to go" (Michener 1971:405). Sharoff tried to argue and Canterbury repeated his statement (Michener 1971:405). It was at this point that Sharoff realized that both groups were determined to hold their ground (Michener 1971:406).

Next, Glenn Frank tried to talk with General Canterbury. On his way to the line of Guardsmen he was met by a group of Guardsmen led by Major Harry Jones. Frank thought that Major Jones was moving his men out to confront the students. According to Michener (1971:406), Frank pleaded, "For God's sake, don't come any closer." Jones replied, "My orders are to move ahead" to which Frank replied, "Over my dead body" (Michener 1971:406). Jones did not move forward. Frank then went to Canterbury and pleaded with the General to give him and the others more time to move the students off of the hill. The General stated, "They're going to have to find out what law and order is all about" (Michener 1971:406). The General told Frank he had five minutes to move the students out; however, Major Manly, who was in command of the 181 members of the Ohio State Patrol now on the Commons, told Frank to take all the time he needed. Additional troops were now massing on Blanket Hill above the Commons, effectively surrounding the student sit-in on the hill. As Frank went back to the students he realized the severity of the situation at hand. On a tape from a radio station can be heard yelling, threats, cursing, and general noise, followed by Frank's desperate plea (Michener 1971:407-408; Scranton 1970:278):

Frank (with deep, choking emotion): I don't care whether you've never listened to anyone before in your lives. I am begging you right now. If you don't disperse right now, they're going to move in, and it can only be a slaughter. Would you please listen to me? Jesus Christ, I don't want to be part of this.

The final plea from Glenn Frank was successful. By 1:30 p.m., the Commons and the adjoining areas were empty of students (Best 2000:26).

The University president, on returning from his lunch at the Brown Derby Restaurant, ordered the University closed as of 1:20 p.m. Later in the afternoon, Judge Albert L. Caris of the Common Pleas Court of Portage County signed an order granting an injunction requested by Portage County Prosecutor Ronald J. Kane to close the University until, "conditions merit the reopening" (Struggle to Recovery 1970:11). By that evening, all students and personnel had vacated the campus, with the exception of 72 international students and residence hall staff (Struggle to Recovery 1970:11).

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Students in the dorms left without many of their belongings and were taken on campus buses to various metropolitan centers throughout the state of Ohio where they were to catch other transportation to their homes throughout the United States. All traffic in and out of the city of Kent was stopped. Military personnel patrolled the city and campus and there was a dusk to dawn curfew. On May 13, 1970, the court order was modified to permit some personnel access to the University.

B.3. National Impact of the Shootings at Kent State

In 2008, the Kent State shootings were voted Ohio's top news story of the past 75 years in an Ohio Newspaper Association poll (Springfield News-Sun 2008). In a 2007 *Vanity Fair* magazine political cartoon (Fig. 25), President George W. Bush's response to the pleas for help of Hurricane Katrina victims in New Orleans is compared to President Nixon's response to the "Kent State massacre" (*Vanity Fair* 2007:129). In 2009 the Kent State shootings were prominently figured in *Newsweek's* timeline of the Vietnam War (*Newsweek* 2009:40). Such examples support the conclusion that the Kent State shootings have come to be recognized as a benchmark in U.S. history associated with the struggle to end the Vietnam War and a flawed Nixon presidency. It is discussed in most American history college-level textbooks, often with a photograph as a measure of its relative importance. At the same time, the contentiousness and debate surrounding the memory and memorialization of May 4 must be acknowledged. It is an important component in gauging the significance of this event within the theme of student protest and civil rights. Such an assessment begins with an understanding of President Nixon's initial response to the shootings and continues to the present.

On May 1, 1970, the morning after his primetime appearance announcing the invasion of Cambodia, which lit the fuse to antiwar protests across the nation's colleges and universities, Nixon was recorded in the hallway of the Pentagon denouncing the protestors: "You see these bums, you know, blowing up the campuses. Listen, the boys that are on the college campuses today are the luckiest people in the world, going to the greatest universities, and here they are burning up the books, storming around about this issue. You name it. Get rid of the war[,] there will be another one" (de Onis 1970:1). After the shootings at Kent State, the president's tone had not softened. When press secretary Ronald Ziegler read Nixon's prepared comments on May 5, there was no expression of sympathy--treatment exemplifying his side of the generational dividing line. Nixon said to the country, "This should remind us all once again that when dissent turns to violence it invites tragedy" (quoted in Langguth 2000:570).² Arthur Krause, whose daughter Allison was a victim of the violence exerted by the law enforcement authorities on May 4, cried, "My child was not a bum" (quoted in Langguth 2000:570).

Foremost Vietnam historian Karnow castigates Nixon's reaction to the shootings at Kent State as, "wanton insensitivity," noting that Secretary of State Henry Kissinger blamed Nixon for failing to find, "the language of respect and compassion that might have created a bridge at least to the more

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reasonable elements of the anti-war movement" (1983:626). In his memoirs, Nixon portrays himself as troubled by May 4: citing, "the pictures in the newspapers of the two girls and two boys who had been killed at Kent State," Nixon described the time as, "the most profoundly depressing moment for me during the war years of my presidency" (1985, quoted in Gordon 1995: 282). This statement seems at odds, however, with his quashing of any federal grand jury probing the killings. It also has been suggested that although Nixon may have been saddened by the deaths of student protestors, he was more affected by the failure of the FBI to turn up any evidence of Communist involvement or agitation. Karnow concludes that the post-Kent State protests and student strikes, "briefly sobered Nixon," but he soon shook this off and decided to stop, "screwing around," with his congressional adversaries and other foes. In the weeks after the shootings, he ordered the formation of a covert team headed by Tom Huston, a former intelligence specialist, to improve surveillance of domestic critics (Karnow 1983:626-27).

Members of Nixon's administration viewed the shootings at Kent State as one of the major symbolic events of the Vietnam War as well as the 1960s, one that affected political and legal institutions, college campuses, and the general public. In the *Ends of Power*, Chief of Staff H. R. Haldeman, a top aid to President Nixon, states that, "Kent State, in May 1970, marked a turning point for Nixon" and that the distrust of the FBI investigations of the Kent State shootings began the "downhill slide" into Watergate, eventually destroying the Nixon administration (Haldeman, with DiMona 1978:107). Henry Kissinger observed in *The White House Years* of the immediate aftermath of the shootings, "The tidal wave of media and student criticism powerfully affected the Congress" (Kissinger 1979:512). That criticism became validated by Robert McNamara, Secretary of Defense under John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson, who wrote in 1995, "We of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations who participated in the decisions on Vietnam acted according to what we thought were the principles and traditions of this nation. . . . Yet we were wrong, terribly wrong. We owe it to future generations to explain why" (McNamara, with VanDeMarke 1995:xvi). While the administration never publically admitted fault in its Vietnam strategy at the time, antiwar sentiment spread throughout the nation and crossed over the generation gap. The Kent State shootings specifically broadened the base of protest against the Vietnam War. This is well documented, particularly for Vietnam veterans and even active soldiers in the field; they saw the military-like events of May 4 as too close to home and too close to their own experiences (Moser 1996:108; Stacewicz 1997:212). Politics too were affected; for example, it is clear that Howard Metzenbaum's antiwar position helped him win the U.S. Senate seat in Ohio, and, oppositely, caused Rhodes to lose in the Republican primary to Robert Taft. "After the Kent State shootings, there was no way to keep Vietnam out of a contest for the U.S. Senate" (Diemer 2008:76). Writing about John Glenn's loss to Metzenbaum in the primary, Diemer further notes that, "the tide moved against him near the end of the campaign, as the incursion in Cambodia and the Kent State tragedy seemed to help the staunchly anti-war Metzenbaum" (Diemer 2008:90; see also Glenn 1982:325).

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The shootings at Kent State made the cover of *Life*, *Newsweek*, *Time*, and other popular publications (Fig. 26). It was the day the war came home to America. The staff of the *Akron Beacon Journal* won the 1971 Pulitzer Prize for its account of the shootings, and Kent State student John Filo and the tiny *Valley Daily News and Daily Dispatch of Tarentum and New Kensington* won the 1971 spot news photography Pulitzer Prize for the iconic image of Mary Vecchio kneeling over the body of Jeffrey Miller (Fig. 27). The story spread quickly. Across the nation and the world the events of May 4 prompted demonstrations and rallies. A week after May 4, 100,000 antiwar demonstrators converged on Washington to protest the Kent State shootings and the Nixon administration's incursion into Cambodia. Even though the demonstration was quickly put together, protestors were still able to bring out thousands to march in the Capital. It was an almost spontaneous response to the events of the previous week. Police ringed the White House with buses to block the demonstrators from getting too close to the executive mansion and sandbagged machine gun positions guarded the roofs of other government buildings. Thirty ROTC buildings on various college campuses were destroyed during the first week in May (Fendrich 2003:350). Hundreds of universities across the country closed in sympathy with Kent State (Mayer 1972, vol. I:27). Michener (1971:418) estimates that 760 American institutions of higher learning were shut down or came close to doing so. James Fendrich (2003:350) similarly reports that thirty percent of college students went out on strike, that there were demonstrations on more than half of all college campuses, and that about 40 percent of the universities closed to cool down protests. Gitlin (1993:410) estimates that between 50 and 60 percent of college students took part in protests. It was the largest student strike in the history of the United States. An Urban Institute national survey in May 1970 concluded that the Kent State shootings were the single factor causing the student strike (Kent May 4 Center n.d.). A correlation also can be shown between the student strike and a broadening base of discontent; for example, in May of 1970 (during the student strike), 500 GIs deserted every day in Vietnam, and that year there were over 65,000 deserters from the army alone (Katsiaficas 1992:117).

In November 1969, Americans had learned of the darkest side of the war overseas as the atrocities committed in 1968 at My Lai were made public. Six months later, Kent State embodied the dark side of the war at home—"a bloodstained symbol of the rising student rebellion against the Nixon Administration and the war in Southeast Asia" (*Time* 1970a:12). As such, May 4 helped to turn the tide of public opinion against the war (Nolan 2000:A23). The killings at Kent State made clear that:

[D]eath, previously distant, was now close at hand. New groups—Nobel science laureates, State Department officers, the American Civil Liberties Union—all openly called for withdrawal. Congress began threatening the Nixon administration with challenges to presidential authority. When the New York Times published the first installment of the Pentagon Papers on 13 June 1971, Americans became aware of the true nature of the war. . . . Anti-war sentiment, previously tainted with an air of anti-Americanism, became instead a normal reaction against zealous excess. Dissent dominated America; the anti-war cause had become institutionalized. (Barringer 1998)

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This turn also marked the last of the mass demonstrations, notably in April and May 1971, in Washington, when over 800 veterans threw their medals and ribbons on the Capitol steps and 7,000 people were arrested. The increased institutionalization of the antiwar efforts likely contributed more than anything else to the end of these large-scale protests, but the violence of governmental response also negatively affected the level of student involvement: "Kent State revealed the limits within which an idealistic and exuberant youth movement could maneuver" (Bills 1990b:59; see also Gordon 1995:18-19). By 1972, U.S. troop withdrawals from Vietnam were significant and peace negotiations had intensified. In January 1973, when Nixon announced the effective end of U.S. involvement, he did so in response to a mandate unequaled in modern times (Barringer 1998). Nixon resigned from office in 1974, and the last American soldier killed in Vietnam occurred in 1975.

In sum, the Kent State campus was the stage for the climax of the decade-long national drama of the student protest movement. This was rooted in the struggle for civil rights and an increasing denouncement of the Vietnam War. The denouement of that protest was the unprecedented and unequaled public mandate that brought to an end the longest war in U.S. history at that point.

C. Memorialization and the Construction of Memory of the Kent State Shootings

The May 4 shootings had a profound influence on the course of Kent State University and its regional context, as well as a measurable impact on national politics and policy (Bills 1990: xiii). The first thing the majority of new visitors to the campus want to see is the site of the shootings. Every spring on May 4, news media from around the country converge on the Commons. Aside from the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, DC (NR #1000285), the site of the May 4 Kent State shootings is the most tangible reminder of America's internal struggle over an unpopular foreign war. Memorialization of the event and the construction of memory of May 4 as a symbol began almost immediately after the shootings themselves, and they continue to the present day (Fig. 28). These efforts have been varied, and sometimes they have been contentious. An understanding of at least some of these efforts is relevant to the construction of a social context for the May 4 shootings and its perceived significance to the national student protest movement.

May 4 Memorialization. The first memorial program of the May 4 shootings was held on the Kent State campus on May 4, 1971, and was sponsored by the University administration. A candlelight march and vigil was an important part of the program and has remained so for subsequent commemorative events (Bills 1990a:32-33). Every year on the evening of May 3, a candlelight procession starts on the Commons at the Victory Bell, walks the perimeter of the campus, and ends at the B'nai B'rith Hillel marker where participants leave their lit candles in remembrance. Then begins a candlelight vigil, which lasts until 12:24 p.m. on May 4, the time that the Guard fired their rifles in 1970. Those standing vigil take their place in turns inside one of the four named spaces set off by lighted bollards in the Prentice Hall parking lot where Allison Krause, Jeffrey Miller, Sandra

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Scheuer, and William Schroeder were downed by bullets. In addition to walking through the historic property, the annual memorial ceremony makes use of both contributing and noncontributing resources as focal points of remembrance; for example, the Victory Bell, the B'nai B'rith Hillel marker, and the May 4 Memorial. The May 4 Memorial was dedicated at the annual memorial service on May 4, 1990, the twentieth anniversary of the shootings (for a description of these resources, see Section number 7, Pages 2-7).

The Rev. Jesse Jackson was the main speaker of the first May 4 memorial program in 1971 that was organized by the University administration. In 1972 and 1973, the program was organized by the Center for Peaceful Change (CPC). The Center (now the Center for Applied Conflict Management) was founded in 1971 by the Kent State Board of Trustees as a "living memorial" to the slain students. It provides a national leadership role and public service in promoting non-violence and other democratic values. Since 1976, the commemorative program has become institutionalized. The May 4 Task Force (see below), a University-registered student organization to coordinate actions relating to the events of May 4, 1970, plans and conducts the annual May 4 program which each year honors the memory of those killed and wounded at Jackson State as well as Kent State (Bills 1990a:33-35). In addition to Rev. Jackson, other notable speakers at this annual event include: Senator George McGovern; Senator Howard Metzenbaum; civil rights activist Julian Bond; philosopher and linguist Noam Chomsky; Governor Richard Celeste; anti-war activist Cindy Sheehan; attorney William Kunstler; Tom Hayden; and the singers Crosby, Stills & Nash. Beginning in 1978, the University administration agreed to the cancellation of classes during the period of the commemorative program on the afternoon of May 4, thereby affecting the lives of over 20,000 people each year (Bills 1990b:57).

On the thirtieth anniversary, Kent State University instituted a second living memorial to honor the memory of the four students who lost their lives on May 4, Allison Krause, Jeffrey Miller, Sandra Scheuer, and William Schroeder. Each year the University sponsors an international Symposium on Democracy dedicated to scholarship that seeks to prevent violence and promote democratic values and civil discourse. Speakers have included prominent scholars and public figures such as Kathleen Sullivan, dean of the Stanford Law School; *New York Times* columnist Anthony Lewis; Admiral James M. Loy, deputy secretary of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security; activist Tom Hayden; Yale historian Jay Winter; political analyst Juan Williams; Jehmu Greene, then-president of the Rock the Vote Foundation; journalist Hodding Carter III; and documentary filmmakers Edward Gray and Chris Triffo. Kent State University Press publishes the proceedings.

In addition to those mentioned above, objects of a memorial or commemorative nature that have been placed on the Kent State campus include the *Kent Four* sculpture and the State of Ohio historical marker, both of which are described as noncontributing objects (for a description of these resources, see Section number 7, Pages 7-9).

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May 4 Task Force. The May 4 Task Force (M4TF) was founded in October 1975, by Kent State students and victims of the May 4 shootings--Alan Canfora, Robbie Stamps, and Dean Kahler. The mission of the Task Force is to tell the truth about what happened in May of 1970, a story still to be fully told, and to support ongoing learning from the tragedy as part of a continuous and living history. "[T]he M4TF [works] to raise the level of awareness of students, faculty and the general public about the May 1970 shootings and the history of subsequent related events" (Kent State University, May 4th Task Force n.d.). The Task Force pursues its education mission through its website, where news updates are posted, along with information about activism-based scholarships, National History Day, and other May 4-related causes, such as fundraising for a May 4 visitors center. A University-chartered and -funded student organization, the Task Force began in 1976 to organize the annual commemoration, which includes an evening program, followed by a candlelight march and vigil beginning on May 3 and a speakers and artists' program on May 4, from noon to 2:00 p.m., during which time classes are in recess.

Library and Collections Resources. In the Department of Special Collections and Archives on the 12th floor of the Kent State University Library, researchers can seek information from 250 cubic feet of boxed materials related to the May 4 shootings and their aftermath, the largest collection of documents pertaining to the event. The May 4 Collection is well indexed, with many of the materials available online. A telling link on the Collection homepage, "National History Day Help," gives some indication of the significant number of primary and secondary school students who select May 4 as their topic. Another link takes searchers to the May 4 Oral History Project, founded by Sandra Perlman on the twentieth anniversary. First-person narratives and personal reactions to May 4 continue to be collected from all manner of individuals and expressing all viewpoints. The May 4 Collection website has averaged 40,000 hits per year since 2000 (over 300,000 hits since the 30th anniversary of the event). Over the past ten years, the May 4 Collection has been the single-most utilized resource of the KSU library's Special Collections and Archives. Additionally, in May 1974, the May 4 Resource Room was established on the first floor of the University Library. The room holds a sampling of May 4 books, a computer work station, brochures for the May 4 Memorial, and a remembrance book. Visitors also may view photographs of the four slain students and artwork donated to the University that speaks to May 4. Yale University also maintains archives concerning May 4, including the papers of Peter Davies, author of *The Truth About Kent State: A Challenge to the American Conscience* in 1973. Sponsored by the United Methodist Church, Davies' book convinced the U.S. Attorney General to convene a federal grand jury. The Yale collection also features the papers of the attorneys for the victims' families who were the plaintiffs in a federal civil trial in 1975.

Of an artifactual nature, an M-1 rifle captioned "Kent State Rifle" is on display at the Smithsonian Institution (Cat. #1987.0381.10 Accession # 10381) as part of a Price of Freedom exhibit. The caption explains that the rifle was used during an event that placed Kent State University, "into the international spotlight." On the Smithsonian webpage where a photo of the rifle is

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displayed, viewers may click on a link to, "view this object in context," which then starts a slide show placing May 4 in the context of the Vietnam War, student antiwar protests and pro-war demonstrations, the Nixon administration, Cambodia, and the national student strike following the Kent State shootings.

Artists' Responses. Artists from around the world have commemorated the shootings at Kent State. The best-known artistic response to the Kent State shootings is the song *Ohio* written by Neil Young in 1970. It was performed by Crosby, Stills & Nash at the May 4 commemoration in 1997. The Rock and Roll Hall of Fame lists *Ohio* as one of the, "500 Songs that Shaped Rock and Roll" (Rock and Roll Hall of Fame n.d.). It was accepted into the Grammy Hall of Fame in 2008. Dave Brubeck's oratorio *Truth is Fallen*, which was released on LP in 1972, also had as its subject the May 4 shootings at Kent State. Kent State University Professor Emeritus Halim El Dabh, an internationally recognized composer, wrote *Opera Flies* in 1971, as his statement on the Kent State tragedy. The best-known poem associated with the Kent State shootings is Yevgeny Yevtushenko's "Bullets and Flowers," originally published May 1970 in *Pravda*, the official newspaper of the Communist Party in the former Soviet Union. On the twentieth anniversary of the shootings, more than 300 poets from around the nation gathered at Kent State to share works that spoke to the events at Kent State and Jackson State. Of the published volume (*A Gathering of Poets*) that followed—the royalties for which go to Center for Peaceful Change and the Gibbs-Green Memorial Scholarship Fund at Jackson State—*Library Journal* (quoted in Anderson and Gildzen 1992) wrote: "Politics and poetry do not often mix, but this book is a uniquely successful blending of social rage and literary art. . . . A significant, well-edited collection of historical and literary value, this book will help readers come to terms with Vietnam." In 1995, Sandra Perlman's play *Nightwalking: Voices from Kent State* debuted at the Terrapin Theater in Chicago. Professor Gregory Payne, Emerson College, first premiered his play *Kent State: A Requiem* on the occasion of the donation of Kent State-related archival material to Yale University in 1976. The play has been toured nationally four times, performed at 80 different colleges and universities and featured on the news and in special programming on NBC, ABC, and CBS. The novel *Hippies* by Peter Jedick, a student at Kent State at the time, brings the era alive for students in Kent State's permanent course "May 4, 1970, & Its Aftermath," which fills each spring semester. Henry Halem, Professor Emeritus and President's Medalist at Kent State University, created a number of works in response to May 4. This body includes a series of stoneware masks that represent each member of a Special State Grand Jury convened locally that issued secret indictments in October 1970 for the demonstrations of May 1-4 against 25 students, non-students, and one professor, while exonerating the Guard and blaming the University administration and its faculty. In 2008, The Ohio Historical Society assembled an exhibit titled *The Kent State Shootings* featuring artifacts, photographs, and documents from the Society's collections as well as a gas mask, pistol, and rifle carried by Ohio National Guardsmen, and Alan Canfora's denim jacket with a bullet hole in the wrist (Barbour 2008:1).

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Sculpture provides some of the more interesting artistic and powerful responses to the Kent State shootings. *Bridge Over Troubled Waters*, a 14-foot high abstract COR-TEN steel construction by Donald Drumm that bears the inscription "In memory of the Kent Four and the Jackson Two," was installed at Bowling Green University in 1970. In 1978, the Mildred Andres Fund commissioned for Kent State University a bronze sculpture by George Segal to commemorate the shootings. The University deemed the finished sculpture, titled *Abraham and Isaac: In Memory of May 4, 1970, Kent State University*, as inappropriate and refused to accept it. The sculpture depicts the critical moment of the patriarch Abraham about to fulfill a divine obligation to slay his son, "an allusion to the moral dilemma inherent in the treatment of students by the state in Kent" (O'Hara 2006:311). *Abraham and Isaac* is now a permanent part of Princeton University's modern sculpture garden. The *May 4 Memorial* designed by Bruno Ast and the *Kent Four* sculpture by Alastair Granville-Jackson on the May 4 Kent State Shootings Site are described elsewhere (Section number 7, Pages 21-22). In addition, two existing sculptures on the Kent State campus took on additional meaning the day of the shooting. In January 1970, leading artist in the Earth Art movement Robert Smithson had participated in a student arts festival and created *Partially Buried Woodshed*. Meant, "to demonstrate human arrangements of material objects as they face the challenges of natural systems and the mysteries of time" (Lambert 2005), the sculpture immediately gained an additional layer of meaning that summer when marked with the graffiti message "MAY 4 KENT 70." According to O'Hara (2006:307), "the work had become an uncanny symbol of deteriorations in May 4 history and memory, and particularly so when the artwork was slated for destruction during campus expansion plans in 1974." The remains of *Partially Buried Woodshed* are approximately one-half mile south of the boundaries of the historic site. Donald Drumm's *Solar Totem*, a towering monolith near Taylor Hall and on the historic site, formed a partial screen of COR-TEN steel between the Guardsmen and students in the parking lot 250 feet away into which the Guard fired on May 4, 1970. The ¼-inch steel plate of *Solar Totem* was perforated by an M-1 round on May 4, 1970. "Transformed by history, the sculpture has become a relic of the war at home as it orients visitors to the positions of students and guardsmen on May 4 and makes apparent, with its hole, the tremendous power of bullets (O'Hara 2006:314). *Solar Totem* is regarded as a contributing object (see Section number 7, Page 17).

Media Treatments. The May 4, 1970, shootings at Kent State University have been widely discussed and analyzed in a variety of media. The most detailed bibliography was published by Scott L. Bills, in his edited book, *Kent State/May 4: Echoes Through a Decade* (1990). Sixty-four pages of the book are devoted to an annotated bibliography of resources including books, government documents, film reviews, scholarly articles in social science and historical journals, dissertations and professional papers.

There have been 24 books written on May 4 issues. They fall under the categories of personal accounts, social science analyses, legal analyses and fiction. The most important book is one of the earliest. This is *The Report of the President's Commission on Campus Unrest* (1970) commonly

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know as the *Scranton Report* after its chairman, William Scranton. The report contains analyses and photographs about the events of May 1970. Many of the analyses are based on testimony given at hearings held at Kent State in August of 1970. Other important books are the aforementioned one edited by Scott Bills, which presents a variety of perspectives on May 4 from Kent State students, faculty, and administrators; Peter Davies' *The Truth About Kent State*; and Joseph Kelner and James Munves' *The Kent State Coverup*. Davies' book made the case through photographic evidence that there was enough evidence to convene a federal grand jury. Kelner and Munves' book chronicles how that evidence and other were used in the landmark federal civil trial in 1975.

Another window into the events of May 4, 1970, and the culture that has developed around it are the documentaries about that day and its aftermath. There have been nine documentaries made primarily for television. Additionally, there is one for radio and an Emmy Award-winning television docudrama by James Goldstone in 1981. In a forthcoming essay Kent State emeritus professor and scholar Jerry M. Lewis (2010, forthcoming) argues that the most important and influential television documentaries were done in 2000 for the 30th anniversary of May 4. First is *Kent State: The Day the War Came Home* (2000), made by Single Spark Pictures and directed by Chris Triffo. The structure of this documentary is a narrative form following the events of five days of the tragic weekend. It includes original interviews as well as previous interviews taken from other documentaries. The narrative is supported by still pictures and films, including Chris Abell's 8mm of the moment of the shootings. The film was first shown on The Learning Channel in May 2000 and continues to be part of Kent State University's first-year student experience. It won an Emmy in the 2001 documentary category and continues to air regularly on PBS under the title *13 Seconds: The Kent State Shootings*.

The 20th Century with Mike Wallace: The Legacy of the Kent State Shootings (2000) is also a narrative documentary, but with a much broader sweep covering the years 1968 to 1999. It was done by CBS News for The History Channel and is narrated by the well-known television journalist, Mike Wallace. It is based primarily on television footage shot by CBS news and supported by original interviews.

There have been countless newspaper and magazine articles and features on May 4, 1970. Important works in 1970 included the *Akron Beacon Journal's* special report on Kent State, which won the Pulitzer Prize for "Local, General or Spot News Reporting" in 1971. That same year, student John Filo won a Pulitzer for his photo indelibly etched on contemporary memory, which captures a kneeling young woman calling out over the body of Jeffrey Miller. In 2006 and 2007, there were 17 national and 27 statewide articles in the media related to the Kent State shootings. In a 2008 poll conducted by the Ohio Newspaper Association, participants selected from among 75 choices the Kent State shootings as the most significant major news event of the past 75 years. That significance was most recently affirmed in June 2009 by widespread electronic and television news coverage that linked the video of the death of a young woman, Neda Agha Soltan, shot during a protest rally in

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Tehran, to the photograph of Mary Vecchio kneeling over the body of Jeffrey Miller. Kent State remains emblematic of the struggle for human and civil rights.

In sum, the commemoration of May 4, 1970, has taken a variety of artistic, historical, and literary directions that extend across time and space. The event also has been covered in countless news reports, along with numerous radio and television programs and full-length film treatments, both fictionalized and documentary. Because this interest continues and because many remain interested in visiting the historic site, the University is currently engaged is planning a May 4 visitors center, which will be located in Taylor Hall in the former offices of the student newspaper—so important to covering the story at the time—which overlooks the Commons. Design work will be completed by Gallagher & Associates, responsible for the design of a considerable number of notable public history exhibits for the public.

People continue to come to Kent State to see the site of the shootings. In one hour of an unpleasantly hot, but otherwise ordinary recent summer day, thirteen people in five groups could be found visiting the site. A middle-aged couple from nearby Hartville, Ohio, had always intended to visit the site and chose that afternoon. An alum in his 30s now living in Los Angeles brought his two nephews from Brecksville, Ohio, to the “historic place.” Another pair of alums brought their daughter to show her where her mother, who now works at the Center for Disease Control in Atlanta, had protested the building of the Gym Annex, which was constructed over part of the May 4 site. An instructor biking from Seattle to Washington, D.C., to raise funds for the American Lung Association, brought his wife and her father, the latter a member of the Minnesota National Guard in 1970. The instructor said he wouldn’t think of traveling through Ohio and not stopping to see the site of the Kent State shootings. A current graduate student in clinical psychology was there, too, with her friend, a police officer in Hagerstown, Maryland, who had asked to be taken to see “the site of the shootings.” The site is also visited by numerous school field trips and college field trips that are made yearly during the academic year and during the May 4 annual commemorations.

The Legal Aftermath of May 4. In direct response to May 4, on September 16, 1970, the Ohio General assembly passed House Bill 1219, which was designed to reduce the probability of campus disruption and violence by establishing hearing procedures for persons arrested on campus for any alleged violations and making suspension mandatory for students, faculty, and staff arrested, and providing for their dismissal upon conviction. H B. 1219 also provides for expedited trials for persons accused of such offenses (Mayer 1972, vol. I:32).

Events of May 1970 were especially important as civil rights cases in the history of American jurisprudence. Litigation resulting from May 4 extended for a full decade after the shootings. During that decade, there were ten major investigations and trials. At the end of that time, however, “Not a single person had been found legally responsible for any of the events of May 4, 1970,” (Hensley 2001:ix). Investigations were conducted by the Ohio State Highway Patrol, the Federal Bureau of

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Investigation, and the President's Commission on Campus Unrest. The case stimulated an unprecedented mix of both criminal and civil cases at both the federal and state levels. Criminal cases took the form of a state grand jury, a state criminal trial, a federal grand jury, and a federal criminal trial. The first two trials--of the "Kent 25" and the eight guardsmen--received national and international attention (Fig. 29). Charges against the "Kent 25" (students and one faculty member) were dropped. The second case came to court despite the announcement by Nixon's attorney general, John Mitchell, in 1971 that there would be no federal grand jury investigation, citing insufficient evidence. However, following the revelations of Watergate and an "eyes only" memo from Nixon to the Justice Department forbidding a grand jury, new attorney general Elliot Richardson proceeded and eight guardsmen were indicted. The case was dismissed by the judge before the jury could deliberate; the trial did not lead to conviction.

The last chapter in the legal aftermath of May 4 took the form of a civil suit brought against James Rhodes, the sitting Governor of Ohio, for damages caused by wrongful deaths, assault and battery, and the violations of civil rights. This case was precedent setting in American jurisprudence and resulted in a landmark decision by the United States Supreme Court (Kelner and Munves 1980:18). In *Scheuer v. Rhodes*, the Court ruled that the executive branch of government did not enjoy absolute immunity for its actions, and that while immunity could be used as a defense in a trial, it could not be used to block a trial from being held (Bills 1990b:37; Rosen 1990:233). Then followed one of the longest, most complicated trials in history. Most federal civil trials typically last two to three days. The 1975 civil trial, in which the families brought suit against 53 defendants on 13 counts, lasted 15 weeks and generated 1,000 pages of transcript that necessitated 76 pages of instructions to the jury, which had to decide on 500 verdicts (Hensley 2000:78). While none of the defendants was found liable, a successful appeal in 1977 led to a second trial in 1979, which ended in a settlement of \$675,000 for injuries the students had received and a statement of regret by the indicted guardsmen and governor. The ambiguous language of the statement has left open the wounds of May 4 for many.

On the thirtieth anniversary of the shootings, Kathleen Sullivan, dean of the Stanford University Law School, spoke to the broken promise represented by the shootings at Kent State, the expectation that freedom of speech will be protected:

If the government is prepared to deploy legitimate force to provide genuinely equal protection of the law, then expression of views that are hostile to subparts of the population pose no ultimate physical menace. . . . On the other hand, we often suppose that we enjoy social order precisely because we have freedom of expression. . . . [A]gainst the backdrop of this contemporary conventional wisdom, the shootings of student anti-war demonstrators by National Guardsmen at Kent State on May 4, 1970, appear anomalous: freedom of expression understood not as an aspect of public order but rather as a threat to public order, and enough of a threat to warrant the use of martial force. (Sullivan 2001:1-2).

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Sullivan places May 4, 1970, into an, "undercurrent of free speech antihistory," that includes the Civil War and the civil rights movement in its timeline and asks, "How might these incidents . . . be reconciled with our canonical tradition that the First Amendment confers the highest protection upon dissident political expression?" (Sullivan 2001:4).

Impact on the National Guard. While no member of the Ohio National Guard was convicted or found liable for his actions at Kent State on May 4, 1970, the events of that day were important in guiding subsequent armament and tactics of the National Guard. At Kent State, the Ohio National Guard was reliant on tear gas and fixed bayonets as its primary means of crowd control. "In December 1970, after attending a review of Guard civil-disturbance policies in Washington, [D.C., Adjutant General Sylvester] Del Corso abandoned the routine gun-loading policy and instituted a new set of riot control drills that emphasized the use of clubs (Kelner and Munves 1980:144). When John J. Gilligan replaced James Rhodes as Ohio governor in 1971, the change-over included the retirement of Generals Del Corso and Canterbury and the immediate revision of Del Corso's policy of issuing live ammunition to guardsmen activated for civil-disturbance duty (Davies 1973). Also in 1971, the U.S. Department of Defense announced that written commitments had been received from forty-seven of the fifty states to abide by the Army field manual guidelines that had been disregarded at Kent State (Davies 1973:169). The President's Commission, too, condemned the tactics used at Kent State:

The indiscriminate firing of rifles into a crowd of students and the deaths that followed were unnecessary, unwarranted, and inexcusable.

The National Guardsmen on the Kent State campus were armed with loaded M-1 rifles, high-velocity weapons with a horizontal range of almost two miles. As they confronted the students, all that stood between a guardsman and firing was the flick of a thumb on the safety mechanism, and the pull of an index finger on the trigger. . . .

The general issuance of loaded weapons to law enforcement officers engaged in controlling disorders is never justified except in the case of armed resistance that trained sniper teams are unable to handle. This was not the case at Kent State, yet each guardsman carried a loaded M-1 rifle. . . .

Even if the guardsmen faced danger, it was not a danger that called for lethal force. The 61 shots by 28 guardsmen certainly cannot be justified. . . . The Kent State tragedy must mark the last time that, as a matter of course, loaded rifles are issued to guardsmen confronting student demonstrators. (Scranton 1970:289-290).

The Gym Annex Controversy & National Landmark Status. In 1976, Kent State University made plans for a Gym Annex to be built on part of the May 4 site. The first letters opposed to this proposed construction were in October 1976 and emphasized the negative impact this construction might have on the legal actions currently underway on behalf of the shooting victims by the Kent families, and further that, "many people change their minds about the causes and implications of the shootings

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when they experience the setting" (Bills 1990b:40, quoting Grim, October 5, 1976). Student protests ensued, and a new May 4th Coalition argued that its preservation was essential in order to carry forward the lesson of the Kent State shootings for future generations (Bills 1990:43). On the day that the University's Board of Trustees made the final decision to build the Gym Annex, May 12, 1977, "Tent City" was born—an occupation of the proposed construction site by the May 4th Coalition and student protestors from Kent State and other universities (Fig. 30). Students wounded on May 4 and their families participated in the rallies that took place on the site (Bills 1990b:41-43).

Central to the Gym Annex controversy was the definition of the boundaries of the May 4, 1970, Shootings Site. The University administration defined the site to be only where the students had actually fallen from National Guard gunfire, and the proposed annex was not supposed to impact that location. The May 4th Coalition, however, defined the boundaries to include the entire area where the events of May 4, 1970, unfolded, including where the guardsmen had assembled at the ROTC building, their marching route, and the firing location, as well as where the student protestors assembled, regrouped, and were shot. Some of that was clearly going to be affected by the construction of the Gym Annex (Bills 1990b:43).

On July 20, 1977, after Tent City protestors were forcibly removed and arrested by the Portage County sheriff's department, members of the May 4th Coalition met with President Jimmy Carter's assistant Midge Costanza in Washington, D.C. Also present were William Murtaugh of the National Historic Landmark Office, the Rev. John P. Adams of the United Methodist Church, Representative John F. Seiberling, and Ohio Senators Howard Metzenbaum and John Glenn. Costanza noted after the two-and-a-half-hour meeting that, "neither President Carter nor the White House could solve the problem the coalition brought to us yesterday, but we encourage them to keep working toward a solution." On July 29, 1977, in a suit filed by William Kunstler on behalf of the May 4th Coalition, U.S. District Court Judge Thomas Lambros issued a temporary restraining order against any construction. In granting the order, Judge Lambros cited a pending National Landmark study of the May 4 site (see below). After some negotiation between the University and the Coalition, including the proposal to rotate the annex slightly away from Blanket Hill, Judge Lambros suspended negotiations on August 8, 1977, and ruled in favor of the University administration on August 17, 1977. Coalition attorneys obtained a restraining order from U.S. Supreme Court Justice William Brennan, but this was removed on September 8, 1977. Construction of the Gym Annex began on September 12, 1977 (Bills 1990b:44-46).

On July 19, 1977, at the height of the Gym Annex controversy, as a way of preventing the University from constructing the building, and after meeting with members of the May 4th Coalition in Washington, U.S. Representative John F. Seiberling, Jr. (14th Congressional District) and U.S. Senator Howard Metzenbaum (Ohio) requested from the National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, an evaluation of the site of the May 4, 1970, shootings for National Landmark status (United Press International 1977:7). The Department of the Interior announced its intention to study

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the May 4 site in 1977 with an expected completion date in 1978. This request was picked up by the news media nationwide. The result was hundreds of letters against such status from across the country, including Kent State University Board of Trustees Chairman George Janik. Many of these letters are on file at the Ohio Historic Preservation Office in Columbus, and they probably represent the single most concerted negative response to any National Landmark evaluation in Ohio history. The general tenor of many was that such a designation would be "spitting on the graves of the 35,000 Americans that died in Vietnam." Also included is a note from an Ohio Historic Preservation Office staff member dated July 18, 1977, indicating that Assistant Attorney General Roy Martin had called to state that Governor Rhodes actively opposed this nomination, but to keep his name out of it if possible (Anonymous 1977). The Governor's office, "made it clear that the nomination should not leave Ohio" (F. Ruffini, personal communication to M. Seeman, 4/09). It should be noted that in issuing a temporary restraining order against any construction of the Gym Annex, U.S. District Court Judge Thomas Lambros cited the pending National Landmark study and compared Blanket Hill to Pearl Harbor and the Alamo. He said, "those places become historic spots in and of themselves, regardless of administrative decrees" (AP, Cleveland:B6).

The Landmark evaluation itself was initiated in 1977 with an on-site evaluation by historian Dr. James Sheire of the Historic Sites Survey Division. His report of January 1978 concluded that the shootings had no lasting political effect, that the social impact was too difficult to measure, and that the only enduring significance might be of a symbolic nature (Bills 1990b:58). The Consulting Committee of the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings presented its findings to the National Park System Advisory Board on May 3, 1978, indicating with respect to the Gym Annex that, "Although the building will affect the historic scene, sufficient site will remain to justify the consideration of the site for possible National Landmark recognition." In May of 1978, the National Park System Advisory Board recommended against National Landmark status for the Kent State May 4, 1970, shootings site, indicating that the national significance for the site had not been established. A letter of May 12, 1978, from Secretary of the Interior Cecil D. Andrus to Senator Howard Metzenbaum indicates:

The Board's recommendation was that national significance for the Kent State May 4, 1970 Site has not been established and, therefore, the site does not qualify for designation as a national historic landmark. . . . The essence of establishing historical significance is perspective. Since this changes with the passing of time, specific events can be evaluated to determine their full impact on the broad sweep of American history only after the passage of sufficient length of time to achieve proper perspective. The consensus of those responsible for review was that there has not yet been time enough to reach a judgment on the national significance of this site. (Andrus 1978).

The decision to build the Gym Annex was more than a construction project. One May 4th Coalition member commented, "It's a contest over images. It's a contest over who controls what we

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think, who controls our history. It's a fight to gain back our roots, and our own understanding of ourselves and our past" (Bills 1990b:47). When Joan Baez appeared at a May 4th Coalition rally on August 20, 1977, she noted, "There's the idea that they're putting a gym over the Vietnam War" (Bills 1990b:52). When acting President Michael Schwartz went to Columbus to talk to the ultra-powerful speaker of the Ohio House of Representatives, Vern Riffe, about the controversy he was told, "If you don't build the Gym Annex where it's supposed to go, you'll never get another building on campus. Is that clear?" (Young 2000). Senator Metzenbaum and Representative Seiberling's request to review the site of the May 4 shootings as a National Landmark also can be seen in this same light.

D. Site Integrity

The cultural significance of a property only can be conveyed if it retains sufficient integrity to do so. The May 4, 1970, Kent State Shootings Site is not the same as it was in 1970, but it still contains a high degree of integrity (Figs. 31-39). As with many properties nominated for the National Register that are less than 50 years of age or that have achieved significance within the past 50 years, this socially significant site should be considered as in a position to be affected by development. University campuses are dynamic settings with many pressures for the re-configuration of resources and physical space. Kent State University has a history of recognizing the historical importance of the May 4 site in its planning processes, and it has a continuing commitment to the maintenance of the integrity and feel of the site, but some aspects of the site have been altered since 1970.

In assessing the integrity of the May 4, 1970, Kent State Shootings Site, strong considerations have been given to a "battlefield model" for historic landscapes and follow from the *Battlefield Survey Manual* (2000) of the American Battlefield Protection Program, National Park Service, compiled by D.W. Lowe, and also from *National Register Bulletin No. 40* (1999) on battlefield nominations by P.W. Andrus. Battlefield nominations as a resource class should give strong consideration for the inclusion within their defined boundaries to those lands that are of direct historical relevance to the event, despite subsequent development or construction. The core area or "hallowed ground" boundary must be historically defensible, and it necessarily should affect subsequent preservation decisions (Lowe 2000:26). In the case of the May 4, 1970, Kent State Shootings Site, an assessment of the integrity of the core area was strongly aided by the availability of hundreds of historic photographs. In developing defensible boundaries, it also was recognized that a portion of a building could not be included, resulting in the exclusion of that small portion of the historic site under the post-1970 Art Building (Map 2, Map 3). A strong majority of the core area of the May 4, 1970, Kent State Shootings Site is little changed since the period of significance, recognizing that reversible land use changes do not count against overall condition (Lowe 2000:30). Taking into consideration the post-1970 construction of the Gym Annex and the May 4 Memorial that do impinge on the core area, the proposed National Register site retains much of its historic integrity. The construction of the May 4 Memorial certainly constitutes an alteration, but the essential features of the site remain in this area. The May 4 Memorial minimally detracts from site integrity; it is essentially at ground level and historic

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viewsheds in this area remain unencumbered. In contrast, the Gym Annex, included as a non-contributing building, does alter those portions of the site where it was located, on the historic Practice Field and minimally into the hillside of adjacent Blanket Hill. The Gym Annex covers 2.96 acres and occupies more than half of the area of the former Practice Field. The fact that it was constructed into the hillside lessens its negative impact when viewed from the heart of the Commons area and even from the crest of Blanket Hill. Its main façade and impact to the campus occurs to the southwest. Also, the original grade and boundaries of the Practice Field in this area of the site can still be recognized despite this post-1970 constriction. Further, it should be recognized that the Gym Annex, although a noncontributing resource, is still an academic building in a university setting. Balanced against post-1970 changes, it should be recognized that the strong presence and identity of several key features of the site, Blanket Hill, Taylor Hall, the Pagoda, and the Prentice Hall Parking Lot, help to orient the viewer of the landscape and also powerfully associate the events to this ground; they are such a strong presence that they help to overpower modern intrusions on the site. Further, the adverse effects of post-1970 construction also must be balanced against the recommendations in the battlefield guidelines that it is important to include the entire battlefield in the nomination where feasible. The above factors minimize the negative effects on site integrity of subsequent modifications (Andrus 1999:10-12).

Comparatively, one should consider that although some other properties pertaining to the civil rights movement possess sufficient significance and integrity to be listed on the National Register—many as 50-year exceptions—properties pertaining specifically to student protest either are not yet listed or they are listed for other reasons. Examples in the first category would include: Little Rock Central High School (#01000274) added to the National Register in 1998; Sumner and Monroe Elementary Schools (#87001283 and now *Brown v. Board of Education* National Historic Site) added to the National Register in 1987; Dexter Avenue Baptist Church (#74000431) added to the National Register in 1974; and the Robert Russa Moton High School National Historic Landmark (#95001177) added to the National Register in 1995. Examples in the latter category would include the Watergate Building (#05000540) added to the National Register in 2005; the Lincoln Memorial (#66000030) added to the National Register in 1966; and the Vietnam Veterans Memorial (#1000285) added in 1982. It is anticipated that other properties, notably at Jackson State University and the University of California, Berkeley may be considered for the National Register for thematic reasons similar to those proposed for the May 4, 1970, Kent State Shootings Site.

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E. Postscripts

- I. *"No one told me that meetings were prohibited. But if someone had, I would have gone anyway, because in my heart I would have believed it to be a violation of my constitutional rights."*
Roseann Canfora, Kent State student protester (Canfora and Canfora 2001:360)
- II. *"If those children hadn't applied pressure, nothing would have happened. Those children had a cause and were seeking justice."*
Doris Krause, mother of slain student Allison Krause (Clines 2000)
- III. *"'Flowers are better than bullets,' that was pure hope speaking."*
Yevgeney Yevtushenko (1970) on Allison Krause in "Flowers and Bullets"
- IV. *"She resented being called a bum because she disagreed with someone else's opinion. She felt that war in Cambodia was wrong. Is this dissent a crime? Is this a reason for killing her? Have we come to such a state in this country that a young girl has to be shot because she disagrees deeply with the actions of her government."*
Arthur Krause to reporters outside his home the day after his daughter Allison was killed
(*The 20th Century with Mike Wallace*)
- V. *"We implore you to consider the incalculable dangers of an unprecedented alienation of America's youth, and to take immediate action to demonstrate unequivocally your determination to end the war quickly."*
Letter sent to President Nixon from 37 university and college presidents responding on May 4, 1970, to Nixon's bombing of Cambodia on April 30 and Vietnam the following weekend (McFadden 1970:1)
- VI. *"Four students were killed. The photograph of a young woman kneeling over the body of a dead student represented all that I and many others feared and hated about what was happening to the country I wore a black armband in memory of the students who had been killed I tried to explain the context in which protests occurred and the impact that the Kent State shootings had on Yale law students."*
Hillary Rodham Clinton (2003:45-46), U.S. Secretary of State
- VII. *"When the President of the United States thus creates a national mood, I suppose one cannot be too surprised if the National Guard of Ohio fails to exercise discrimination. . . . I know Kent; I have often lectured at Kent State. It is the essence of an Ohio small town; the students are all from small towns or off the farms; nothing could be more square, unradical and midwest-American."*
Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. (2007:323), American historian

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- VIII. *"The killing of the students at Kent State electrified campuses . . . the country was in upheaval."*
Norma Becker, New York civil rights and antiwar organizer (2001:314)
- IX. *"When students were killed at Kent State . . . I too began to speak out against the war."*
Ron Kovic, Vietnam veteran and author of *Born on the Fourth of July* (1976) in his speech to the Democratic National Convention (quoted in Moser 1996:123)
- X. *"It wasn't until Kent State and Cambodia that I started getting active again. When they turned the guns against their own people here at Kent State, when I saw American people believing the lies about Cambodia, that was it."*
Jack McCloskey (Stacewicz 1997:99), Vietnam veteran
- XI. *"The actual day that the Kent State thing happened we had a big brawl at the NCO [noncommissioned officers] club. . . . That's what pushed me over the edge to some degree. . . I went AWOL. I went to anti-war stuff all over the state and Washington, D.C. Eventually they court-martialed me. . . . I joined VVAW right after Kent State . . . and redoubled my activism."*
Bill Davis (quoted in Moser 1996:108)
- XII. *"The Kent State thing went down, and I started to have the disturbing feeling that what went on in Vietnam was going to happen here in the United States—that cordon and search operations were going to go on here. Our country was going to be a military dictatorship and the same kind of crap that I participated in was going to come home to roost. That scared the shit out of me."*
John Kniffin (Stacewicz 1997:112), Vietnam veteran
- XIII. *"This is for the brothers and sisters at Kent."*
An anonymous Vietnam soldier as he solemnly tossed a handful of medals toward the U.S. Capitol steps, April 23, 1971 (Moser 1996:113)
- XIV. *"Then Jackson State and Kent State and the invasion of Cambodia happened in early 1970, and I just got to where I felt I had to do something. I didn't know what it was I was supposed to do; I just felt there was something I was supposed to do. The military was killing our babies. You don't send the military into your schools. That was wrong. That's what we had done. We knew it. It was a gut reaction. There wasn't any analysis. There was just this overwhelming sense that what had just happened was very, very wrong. Something had to be done. We didn't know what."*
Pfc. Mike McCain (Stacewicz 1997:150)

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XV. *"Nixon, remember what happened to George III. We will make Kent State our Boston Massacre. The Continuing American Revolution is growing. The American Empire is falling."*

Tom Roberts (Moser 1996:168 quoting Aboveground Final Issue [May 1970], TL)

XVI. *"Kent State happened, and I think that threw me for a loop. I could not deal with having these fucking scum beat people up and shoot them down. I knew right away what happened. It was very clear to me that they had just fired into this fucking crowd. I'd been in the military, and I knew what it takes to shoot at people. I said, 'Man, there is no way that they didn't do that on purpose. There is no way that you should open up on some kids throwing rocks.' I just couldn't deal with that anymore. Everything came home. I can't get away. These fuckers are pushing me from all sides.*

I agonized over it for a few days and started asking around. I found out they were doing stuff over at the student center. I just walked in there one day and said, 'Hi, I want to join up and do whatever. I don't give a fuck what it is.' I identified myself as a veteran. I started doing different stuff like passing out literature. I felt like this has got to be done and I can't do anything else. It was an irresistible force."

Bill Branson (Stacewicz 1997:164)

XVII. *"After Kent State, there started being a lot of anti-war demonstrations at City College here in San Francisco. I started going to them, started looking at guys at demonstrations—some of them wearing fatigues, a little bit older than the students—started talking to some of them. About four of us started a group called Veterans for Peace."*

Jack McCloskey (Stacewicz 1997:215)

XVIII. *"Four young men and women had their lives taken from them while lawfully protesting this outrageous government action. We are going . . . to make sure that the powers of the politicians do not take precedent over the right of lawful protest."*

Graham Nash (n.d.) commenting on the release of the song "Ohio"

XIX. *"Violence and hatred for the President, of an order probably never before seen in this country, exploded on campuses after this outrage. White House staffers looked stunned: heads were hanging; some said. 'Hell, it isn't worth it. Let's just bug out of the damn war.' . . . Kent State, in May 1970, marked a turning point for Nixon, a beginning of his downhill slide toward Watergate."*

H. R. Haldeman (with DiMona 1978:105, 107), White House Chief of Staff

XX. *"I thank God this amendment was submitted when it was, because as every Senator knows, in the turbulent days following the invasion of Cambodia and the tragedy at Kent State University,*

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this amendment gave a constructive rallying point to millions of anguished citizens across this war-weary land."

Senator George McGovern (1970:30682)

XXI. *"In some fashion as yet undetermined, the guardsmen opened fire on unarmed students and four of them fell dead. This shocking incident added to the growing furor over the continued killing in Indochina. The next day I decided that the time had come for a major televised attack on the Nixon war policies."*

Senator George McGovern (1977:165)

XXII. *"Metzenbaum was vocally against the war, while my questions focused mainly on its conduct. I don't know if the Kent State shootings made the final difference in the outcome, but I lost the primary by fewer than thirteen thousand votes."*

Senator John Glenn (1982:325)

XXIII. *"Rhodes also may have been hurt by the killing of four Kent State students the day before the primary. He had successfully opposed hard-line state legislation against student protesters, and Taft headquarters criticized Rhodes for that opposition only hours after National Guardsmen—ordered to Kent State by Rhodes—shot the students. On the issue of campus violence, Rhodes had no way he could possibly win. He was damned because he did and damned because he didn't."*

Time (1970b:17)

XXIV. *"For many of us there is little to remember but the promises and . . . the loss of the symbols of those promises—of John and Robert Kennedy, of Martin Luther King, Jr., of Medgar Evers, of Fred Hampton, and Malcolm X, of Allison Krause, Sandy Scheuer, Jeffrey Miller, and William Schroeder from Kent State, and Philip Gibbs and James Green from Jackson State: the loss too of friends, the fifty-three thousand Americans who have lost their lives in this degrading and immoral war."*

Senator John Kerry (quoted in Moser 1996:12-13)

XXV. *"To Allison Krause, your family, and your friends, I am sorry. To Jeff Miller, your family and your friends, I am sorry. To Sandy Scheuer, your family and your friends, I am sorry. To Bill Schroeder, your family and your friends, I am sorry."*

Governor Richard F. Celeste, State of Ohio apology on May 4, 1990 (Dionne 1990)

XXVI. *"Our tragedy should never dissuade us from teaching young people not to be afraid to raise their voices, singly or in groups, when they believe their cause is just."*

Henry Halem, Professor of Art, Kent State University (Dionne 1990)

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XXVII. *"I worry, too, that people will not want to hear about it, that people will want to forget the whole thing happened."*

Roseann Canfora, Kent State student protester (Canfora and Canfora 2001:367)

XXVIII. *"How America accepts and understands Kent State will tell us the answer to the question, does America work?"*

Charlie Rangel, U.S. Representative, 15th Congressional District (Rangel 1974:12)

XXIX. *"From Vietnam to Cambodia, from Los Angeles to Memphis, from Kent State to Watergate, the American spirit suffered under one shock after another, and the confidence of our people was deeply shaken."*

President Jimmy Carter (1979:1981)

Notes

¹ The definitional distinction between a "riot" and a "demonstration" is both legal and social. A riot is "[a]n unlawful disturbance of the peace by an assembly of usu[ally] three or more persons acting with a common purpose in a violent or tumultuous manner that threatens or terrorizes the public." "Reading the Riot Act" is a slang expression in U.S. parlance that means "'to reprimand vigorously,'" but which is based on the original meaning in eighteenth-century English law which "referred to the Official command for rioters to disperse" (Garner 1999:1327). A "demonstration" involves "'a group of people banded together to protest some grievance . . . exercising their right to protest and dissent'" (Kelner and Munves 1980:185). James Rhodes stated that he had intelligence that four SDS leaders were behind the disturbances. A subsequent FBI investigation failed to discover any connection between any of these individuals and the events of the subsequent weekend (Kelner and Munves 1980:158n).

² Nixon's sympathy was absent, too, when he responded to news of the shootings at Jackson State. A. J. Langguth notes in *Our Vietnam* that Nixon called the president of Jackson State, where two students were killed during a protest 10 days later, asking, "What are we going to do . . . to get more respect for the police from our young people" (Langguth 2000:570).

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Verbal Boundary Description

The site boundaries are conveyed visually by reference to scaled maps showing these boundaries in reference to surrounding cultural and natural features (Map 2, Map 4, Map 5). Additional verbal description of the property is included below.

Northern boundary: The May 4 Shootings Site on the campus of Kent State University is defined here in clockwise fashion, beginning with a point at the southeast corner of the Old Heating Plant (now known as the Art Building Annex) and continuing eastward along the southwest elevation of Oscar Ritchie Hall. Moving eastward, the property boundary is defined by the southern margin of Lilac Lane. The boundary then continues east following Lilac Lane to a point adjacent to the northwest corner of Prentice Hall, where it makes an approximately 90-degree turn to the south along an unnamed walkway to the southwest corner of Prentice Hall. From the southwest limit of Prentice Hall, the property boundary continues east following the southern limit of Prentice along a line that continues to the western margin of Midway Drive, with one small turn to the east to include a small block on the eastern side of Midway Drive coincident with the location where Kent State student Scott Mackenzie was shot.

Eastern boundary: The property continues south along Midway to a point coincident with the former location of the northeastern corner of an 8-foot high barrier fence that formed the northeast corner of the Practice Field in 1970. The eastern boundary of the property then continues south along the eastern margin of the former Practice Field fence to the point where it turned 90 degrees to the west and then southwest to a point where there was an area of construction in 1970 associated with the building of the Kent Student Center. There are several angular turns in the boundary here made necessary by the inclusion of the entire Gym Annex (noncontributing).

Southern boundary: The extreme southern boundary of the property extends westerly from the Kent Student Center location for approximately 350 feet to the southeast corner of Lake Hall.

Western boundary: From the southeast corner of Lake Hall, the boundary extends northwesterly to the eastern elevation of the Stopher-Johnson dormitory complex and then follows the outline of this building before extending in a line northwesterly to a point coincident with the southeast corner of the post-1970 Art Building. From this point the boundary extends along the eastern elevation of the Art Building and then northwest across the Art Building parking lot to the southeast corner of the Old Heating Plant, closing the perimeter to the north. Altogether, the property boundary encloses 17.24 acres of land.

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Boundary Justification

The physical boundary of the May 4, 1970, Kent State Student Shootings Site is defined by the actions of student protestors, the Ohio National Guard, and an active audience on the morning and early afternoon of May 4, 1970, on the campus of Kent State University. Following from Andrus (1999) the National Register boundary of the site is drawn to encompass, but not exceed, the full extent of the confrontation. It is coincident with the core area of the May 4, 1970, events, except in that small area (.38 acres) in the western portion of the site that has been impacted by a portion of the post-1970 Art Building. Included within the boundary are the locations of major actions and the key features involved that allow for remaining setting to convey their significance. This setting is important in understanding what the participants experienced and in explaining how the physical features determined or influenced the actions of the day. These features provided orientation (Blanket Hill, the Commons, the pagoda, Taylor Hall) for students and guardsmen as well as acting as key terrain (Blanket Hill and the Commons) and obstacles (chain link fence) for guardsmen and cover and concealment (Taylor Hall, Prentice Hall Parking Lot cars, the *Solar Totem* sculpture) for students during the action. While there are a number of available maps or sketches of the May 4, 1970, Kent State Shootings Site that have been done over the years, none have justified boundaries (Fig. 40, Fig. 41). The present boundary is based on the unanimous consensus of a working group consisting of Drs. Carole Barbato, Laura Davis, Jerry Lewis, and Mark Seeman. The proposed boundaries closely approximate the mapped, but unexplained, unscaled, and unjustified boundaries defined by the 25th Anniversary Coordinating Ad Hoc Committee on the May 4th Site Preservation (Barbato, et al. 1995). Another map done by three graduate students in the School of Architecture and Environmental Design provided the 25th Anniversary Coordinating Committee with a version of the boundaries, also provided without explanation (Hollo, Crysler, and Owens 1995).

Boundary justifications described in this nomination are based first on historic photographs, second on eyewitness accounts, and third on an appraisal of local terrain. Numbered and keyed historic photographs pertaining to boundary justification are listed in the Figures List (Figs. 42-61) and their locations are shown on Map 5, Locations 1-20. Justification of site boundaries proceeds from the northeast in clockwise fashion around the perimeter, following the format of the boundary description.

Northern boundary: The northeastern boundary extends between the Old Heating Plant and Oscar Ritchie Hall. Here and immediately northeast of the burned ROTC building, the National Guard had established a barrier consisting of a fence, armed Guard personnel, a line cordon, and a series of sawhorses. Proxemics were such, however, that this area actually served as a spatial focus for the gathering of hundreds of students immediately before, during, and after the shootings (Fig. 42). Moving eastward, the property boundary follows the southern margin of Lilac Lane south of Oscar Ritchie Hall. Here Lilac Lane is coincident with the northern limit of the area around the burned ROTC building that was controlled by the Guard throughout the May 4 confrontation. Historic

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photographs show this area to be the location where the northern end of the National Guard skirmish line formed (Charlie Company) before the advance across the Commons to confront student protestors at the Victory Bell location (Fig. 43). The site boundary then continues east following Lilac Lane to a point adjacent to the northwest corner of Prentice Hall. Historic photographs show people massed along this northern boundary, as well as their physical relationship to the Commons, tennis courts, Lilac Lane, and the advancing Guard (Fig. 44-46). In 1970, this boundary was further delineated by an approximately 5-ft high construction fence along the edge of Lilac Lane. From the northwest corner of Prentice Hall, the property boundary makes an approximately 90-degree turn to the south along an unnamed walkway to the southwest corner of Prentice Hall. There are no historic photographs bearing on events in this portion of the property, but it was coincident with the route of advance of Charlie Company to their stationary position between Taylor and Prentice Halls where they were confronted by protestors (Michener 1971:332-333, 379). From the southwest limit of Prentice Hall, the property boundary continues east, following the southern limit of Prentice along a line that continues to the western margin of Midway Drive (Fig. 47). This area borders the Prentice Hall Parking Lot, the scene of the fatalities. The small extension of the boundary across Midway in this location was in order to include the place Kent State student Scott Mackenzie was shot.

Eastern boundary: The property continues south along Midway Drive to a point coincident with the former location of the northeastern corner of an 8-foot high barrier fence that formed the northeast corner of the Practice Field in 1970 and that is visible in historic photographs. Historic photographs also show massed students in this area, which includes the eastern portion of the Prentice Hall Parking Lot and the adjacent lawn to the south (Fig. 48). The eastern boundary of the property then continues south along the eastern margin of the former Practice Field fence to the point where it turns 90 degrees to the west. An historic photograph documents students ducking and running for cover in this area at the time of the shootings (Fig. 49). Additionally, and earlier in the day, this portion of the property marks the location of the maximum northern advance of G Troop and A Company before they assumed the "kneeling position" on the Practice Field (Fig. 50). Moving slightly south, the site boundary continues to be defined by the 8-foot barrier fence and includes the "kneeling position" toward the south end of the Practice Field (Fig. 50, Fig. 51). Two slight jogs in the perimeter here are necessary to include the entire outline of the post-1970 Gym Annex (noncontributing) with the boundary then extending south to a point coincident with an area of construction in 1970 associated with the building of the Kent Student Center.

Southern boundary: The extreme southern boundary of the property extends westerly from the Kent Student Center location for approximately 350 feet to the southeast corner of Lake Hall. At least one historic photograph shows students in this area throwing back tear gas canisters toward the Guardsmen as the latter moved onto the Practice Field (Fig. 53). It also includes the location where James Russell was shot close to the northeastern corner of Lake Hall. From the southeast corner of Lake Hall, the boundary follows the eastern margin of the building, and then extends northwesterly to the southeast corner of the Stopher-Johnson dormitories (Figs. 54-58).

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Western boundary: The western portion of the property boundary continues along the eastern margin of Stopher-Johnson, and then in a line to the northwest, intersecting the southeastern corner of the Art Building (Fig. 59). On May 4, 1970, students were standing on the roofs of Stopher and Johnson Halls looking down into the Commons. Despite a lack of any supporting evidence, it was alleged by Guardsmen that a sniper opened fire on them from this location and thus that the soldiers were simply defending themselves (Gordon 1995:49-50). The original Stopher-Johnson complex was demolished to make way for the newly constructed Stopher-Johnson residence halls on a comparable footprint. In the area now occupied by the eastern extent of the Art Building, historic photographs show a substantial four-foot construction fence in 1970. Dozens of students can be seen along this fence line at the time that the Guard began their advance across the Commons (Fig. 60). This eastern area of the Art Building could have been included within the property boundaries, but the decision was made to exclude it rather than include the entire expanse of this post-1970 building, the majority of which does not adversely impact the site. From the eastern elevation of the Art Building, the site boundary extends northerly, following the location of the exterior walls of the former structures known as West Hall, South Hall, and North Hall, and immediately west of the location of the burned ROTC Building, also known as East Hall (Fig. 61). From here, the boundary continues to the southeastern corner of the Old Heating Plant, closing the perimeter to the north.

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Eleven images of the current property are included on the Photo List. The eleven property photo views are represented on Map 4. These were taken between December, 2006 and October, 2009 with the initiation of the project. It should be noted that there have been no modifications of the property between these dates to the present (November, 2009) to diminish their accuracy or representativeness. In addition to the digital file (OH_PortageCounty_May4KentStateShootingsSite_0001-0011), eleven black and white prints of these color images are included. They were produced with an HP Office jetPro L7680 using HP Viverra ink and HP Premium Photo paper (glossy). Labeling was done with a Pigma Micron archival pen suitable for acid free environments.

Site Area	View	Photo Description	Image Provenance	Photographer	NRHP image no.
N	S	The Commons looking south to the Victory Bell, Taylor Hall and Blanket Hill, Dec 2006.	KSU, Dept. of Anthropology	Mark Seeman	OH_PortageCounty_May4_0001
Center	W	Blanket Hill summit south of Taylor Hall and looking west toward the <i>Solar totem</i> sculpture and the Pagoda, Dec. 2006.	KSU, Dept. of Anthropology	Mark Seeman	OH_PortageCounty_May4_0002
S	W	The Prentice Hall Parking Lot (contributing structure) facing west toward the Gym Annex with Sandy Scheuer death site marker at right, July 2008.	KSU, Dept. of Anthropology	Mark Seeman	OH_PortageCounty_May4_0003
S	S	The Prentice Hall Parking Lot and slope to the Practice Field area with Jeffrey Miller death marker (noncontributing object) in foreground, facing south, Dec. 2006.	KSU, Dept. of Anthropology	Mark Seeman	OH_PortageCounty_May4_0004
S	SW	The Practice Field (remnant) looking toward the Gym Annex (noncontributing building), facing southwest, Jan. 2007.	KSU, Dept. of Anthropology	Mark Seeman	OH_PortageCounty_May4_0005
Center	S	Contributing building, Taylor Hall, facing south, Dec. 2006.	KSU, Dept. of Anthropology	Mark Seeman	OH_PortageCounty_May4_0006
N	SSW	Contributing object, Victory Bell, facing south southwest, Dec. 2006.	KSU, Dept. of Anthropology	Mark Seeman	OH_PortageCounty_May4_0007
N	S	Contributing structure, Lilac Lane northern boulder marker, facing south, Dec 2006 (Lilac Lane extends southeast).	KSU, Dept. of Anthropology	Mark Seeman	OH_PortageCounty_May4_0008
Center	S	Contributing object, the Pagoda, facing south, Dec. 2006.	KSU, Dept. of Anthropology	Mark Seeman	OH_PortageCounty_May4_0009
Center	SE	Contributing object, <i>Solar Totem</i> sculpture with Prentice Hall Parking Lot in background, facing southeast, Jan. 2007.	KSU, Dept. of Anthropology	Mark Seeman	OH_PortageCounty_May4_0010
Center	E	The May 4 Memorial (noncontributing) was dedicated on May 4, 1990, and was accompanied by "the first official apology to each of the dead students and their families for the actions of the state of Ohio" by Governor Richard Celeste, facing east, Oct. 2009.	KSU, Dept. of Anthropology	Mark Seeman	OH_PortageCounty_May4_0011

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Fig. 2. President Richard Nixon outlines the U.S. incursions into Cambodia, April 30, 1970.	Nixon Presidential Library and Museum	undetermined
Fig. 3. The Guard at the burning of the Kent State ROTC building, May 2, 1970.	Michener 1971:200	Don Roese
Fig. 4. Governor James Rhodes inspects damage at the site of the ROTC Building, May 3, 1970.	Kelner and Munves 1980:40	UPI
Fig. 5. The Commons with ROTC building and Lilac Lane boulder marker (contributing), early morning May 4, 1970.	KSU Box 28 uns 705, 4-4-25	KSU University News Service
Fig. 6. National Guard skirmish line in static position at north end of Commons with ROTC building in background, May 4, 1970.	KSU Box 109, folder 2, No. 1	Bill Browning
Fig. 7. Rally at the Victory Bell, 11:50 a.m., May 4, 1970. Jeep from which orders to disperse is visible in center. Onlookers along Lilac Lane are at right.	Akron Beacon Journal Archives	Don Roese
Fig. 8. National Guard advances across the Commons toward Victory Bell, May 4, 1970, facing northeast.	KSU Box 191, folder 15	Ohio State Highway Patrol
Fig. 9. National Guard advances across the Commons toward the Victory Bell with student protestors holding their ground, May 4, 1970, facing southeast.	KSU Box 28 uns 705, 4-1-31	KSU University News Service
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Fig. 17. Students react to the shooting by fleeing into Taylor Hall, May 4, 1970.	KSU, Box 113 folder 29	<i>Akron Beacon Journal</i>
Fig. 18. Students react to the shooting by fleeing and flattening to the ground, Prentice Hall Parking Lot and adjacent slope, May 4, 1970.	KSU, uns 705, 4-2-23	KSU University News Service
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Fig. 23. The Guard reestablished on the Commons surrounding the ROTC building with students to the north and south, May 4, 1970.	Akron Beacon Journal Archives	Don Roese, <i>Akron Beacon Journal</i>
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Fig. 26. <i>Life</i> magazine cover of May 15, 1970.	KSU, Box 190A, folder 22	undetermined
Fig. 27. Pulitzer Prize photograph of Mary Vecchio at the body of Jeffrey Miller, May 4, 1970.	KSU, Box 190, folder 98	John Filo
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Fig. 29. New York City march in October, 1970 protesting the twenty-five indictments handed down by the Portage County Special Grand Jury. Note Student Mobilization Committee (SMC) logo.	Michener 1971:532	Martin Levick
Fig. 30. "Tent City" protest of the Gym Annex construction, 1977.	Grim 1990:223	undetermined
Fig. 31. Integrity of the property: historic and modern look of the Commons and Blanket Hill showing Taylor Hall, the Victory Bell, and Stopher-Johnson complex.	KSU, Dept. of Anthropology	John Filo/Mark Seeman
Fig. 32. Integrity of the property: historic and modern configuration of Stopher-Johnson complex.	KSU, Dept. of Anthropology	John Filo/Mark Seeman
Fig. 33. Integrity of the property: historic and modern view of the Commons from Blanket Hill.	KSU, Dept. of Anthropology	John Filo/Mark Seeman
Fig. 34. Integrity of the property: historic and modern view of the Practice Field area.	KSU, Dept. of Anthropology	John Filo/Mark Seeman

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Fig. 35. Integrity of the property: historic and contemporary view of the Practice Field from the Jeffrey Miller death location.	KSU, Dept. of Anthropology	John Filo/Mark Seeman
Fig. 36. Integrity of property: the Prentice Hall Parking Lot and adjacent Practice Field.	KSU, Dept. of Anthropology	Beverly Knowles /Mark Seeman
Fig. 37. Integrity of the property: south slope of Blanket Hill.	KSU, Dept. of Anthropology	Harold Walker/Mark Seeman
Fig. 38. Integrity of the property: historic and contemporary view of the summit of Blanket Hill.	KSU, Dept. of Anthropology	John Filo/ Mark Seeman
Fig. 39. Integrity of the property: historic and contemporary view of the roofline of Stopher-Johnson complex.	KSU, Dept. of Anthropology	Howard Ruffner/Mark Seeman
Fig. 40. Boundary justification: twenty-fifth anniversary map and boundaries as they appear in Barbato, et. al. (1995).	Barbato, et. al. 1995	n/a
Fig. 41. Boundary justification: Hollo, Crysler, and Owens (1995) map showing their site boundaries.	Hollo, Crysler, and Owens (1995)	n/a
Fig. 42. Boundary justification: students at barrier between Oscar Ritchie Hall and Old Heating Plant, May 4, 1970, see Map 5, Location #1.	Akron Beacon Journal archives; Michener 1971:401 KSU Box 109 folder 2 no. 1	Don Roesse Bill Browning
Fig. 43. Boundary justification: Guard skirmish line extends toward south elevation of Oscar Ritchie Hall, May 4, 1970; see Map 5, Location #2.	KSU Box 191 folder 6	Ohio State Highway Patrol
Fig. 44. Boundary justification: view from Blanket Hill toward students massed along Lilac Lane, May 4, 1970; see Map 5, Location #3.	KSU Box 191 folder 15	Ohio State Highway Patrol
Fig. 45. Boundary justification: view from Johnson Hall across the Commons to students massed along Lilac Lane near the tennis courts, May 4, 1970; see Map 5, Location #4.	KSU Box 189 folder 36	Chuck Ayers
Fig. 46. Boundary justification: view from Blanket Hill toward central and southern extent of Lilac Lane, May 4, 1970; see Map 5, Location #5.	KSU Box 28 uns 705, 4-2-17	KSU University News Service
Fig. 47. Boundary justification: view from the southwest corner of the Prentice Hall Parking Lot toward Midway Drive, May 4, 1970; see Map 5, Location #6.	KSU Box 28 uns 705, 4-2-23	KSU University News Service
Fig. 48. Boundary justification: view from southwest corner of Prentice Hall Parking Lot toward adjacent lawn, May 4, 1970; see Map 5 Location #7.	KSU Box 28 uns 705-4-2-24	KSU University News Service
Fig. 49. Boundary justification: view from driveway south of Taylor Hall and south across northern end of the Practice Field, May 4, 1970; see Map 5, Location #8.	KSU Box 189 Ayers 46	Chuck Ayers
Fig. 50. Boundary justification: view from driveway south of Taylor Hall toward the Practice Field boundary fence, May 4, 1970; see Map 5, Location #9.	KSU Box 28 uns 705, 4.2.14	KSU University News Service
Fig. 51. Boundary justification: view from Blanket Hill southeast across the Practice Field to Guard's "kneeling position" with boundary fence in background, May 4, 1970; see Map 5, Location #10.	Davies 1973 :87	John P. Filo
Fig. 52. Boundary justification: view of the southeast corner of the Practice Field with barbed wire-topped barrier fence and Student Center in background, May 4, 1970; see Map 5, Location #11.	KSU Box 28 uns 705, 4-2-19	KSU University News Service
Fig. 53. Boundary justification: the south end of the Practice Field with KSU Library in background, May 4, 1970; see Map 5, Location #12.	KSU box 28 uns 705, 4-2-12.	KSU University News Service
Fig. 54. Boundary justification: view from Blanket Hill toward area between Lake and Johnson Halls, May 4, 1970; see Map 5, Location #13.	KSU Box 190 folder 31	Howard Ruffner
Fig. 55. Boundary justification: view from Blanket Hill southwest toward Johnson Hall, May 4, 1970; see Map 5, Location #14.	KSU Box 191 folder 11	Ohio State Highway Patrol
Fig. 56. Boundary justification: view from south elevation of Taylor Hall across western Blanket Hill passway to Johnson Hall and the low roof of the Student Activities Center, May 4, 1970; see Map 5, Location #15.	USU Box 28 uns 705, 4-2-6	KSU University News Service
Fig. 57. Boundary justification: the roof of the Student Activities Center, May 4, 1970; see Map 5, Location #16.	KSU Box 109 folder 2 no. 2	Bill Brauning
Fig. 58. Boundary justification: view of Stopher Hall from the Commons, May 4, 1970; see Map 5, Location #17.	Davies 1973:68	KSU University News Service
Fig. 59. Boundary justification: fence line northwest of Stopher Hall, May 4, 1970; see Map 5, Location #18.	Box 28 #5413	KSU University News Service
Fig. 60. Boundary justification: fence boundary northwest of Stopher Hall and east of Van Deusen Hall, May 4, 1970; see Map 5, Location #19.	Box 190 folder 40	Howard Ruffner
Fig. 61. Boundary justification: property boundary along South Hall eastern elevation, with West Hall, North Hall, Old Heating Plant, and burned ROTC building (East Hall) in background, May 4, 1970; see Map 5, Location #20.		

May 4, 1970 Kent State Shootings Site
Portage County, Ohio Regional Locator
Map 1

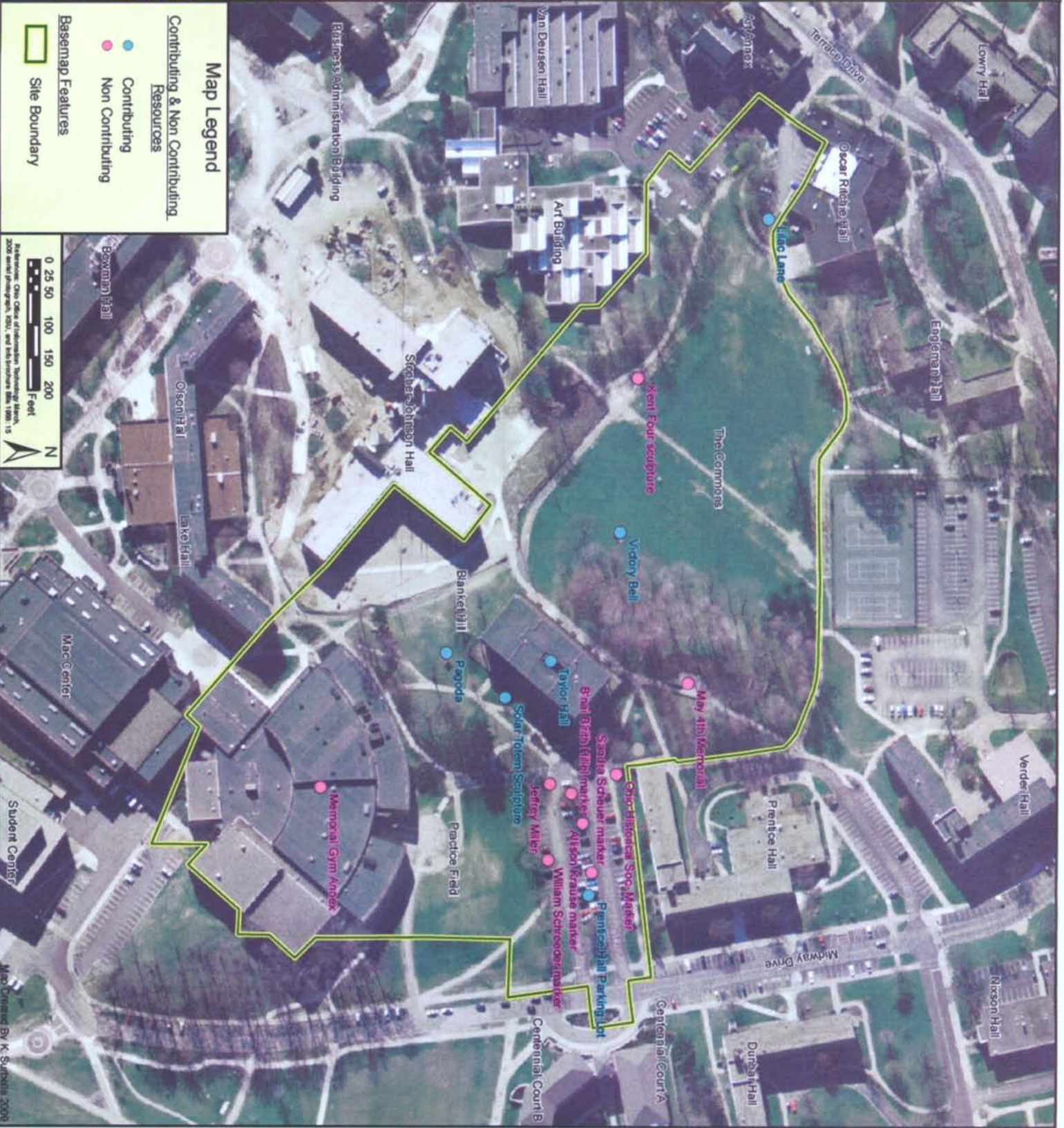


May 4, 1970 Kent State Shootings Site
 Portage County, Ohio
 2007 Property Map Showing Contributing and Noncontributing Resources

Map 2

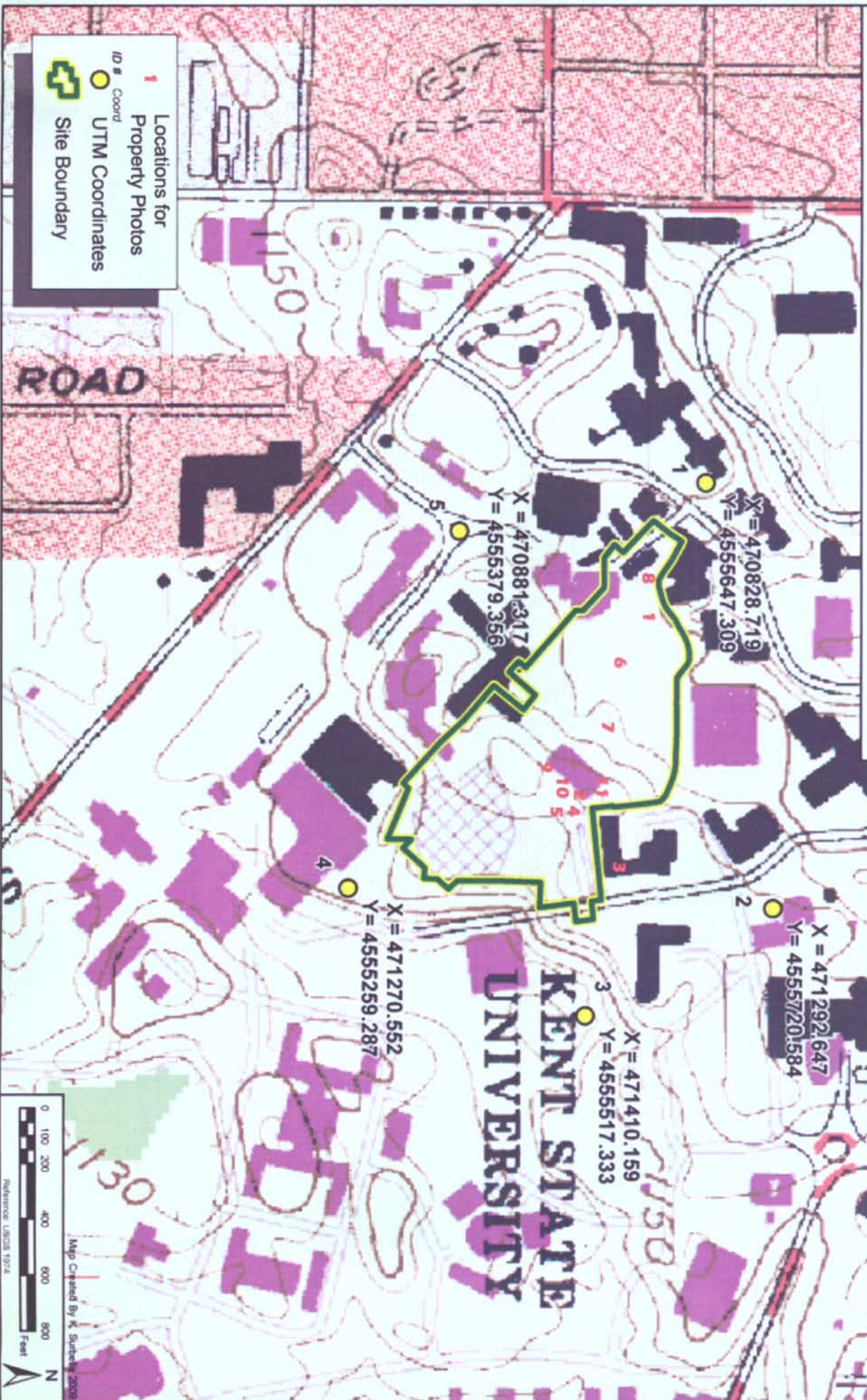


Solar Totem sculpture by Don Drumm



May 4, 1970 Kent State Shootings Site
Portage County, Ohio
Site Boundaries with UTM Reference Points
USGS Kent Quadrangle 7.5' series, 1974

Map 4



May 4, 1970 Kent State Shootings Site

Portage County, Ohio

Historic 1970 Map with Troop Movements, Major Positions, Firing Trajectories, and Locations of Students Killed or Wounded

Map 3



Solar Totem sculpture by Don Drummond



May 4, 1970 Kent State Shootings Site

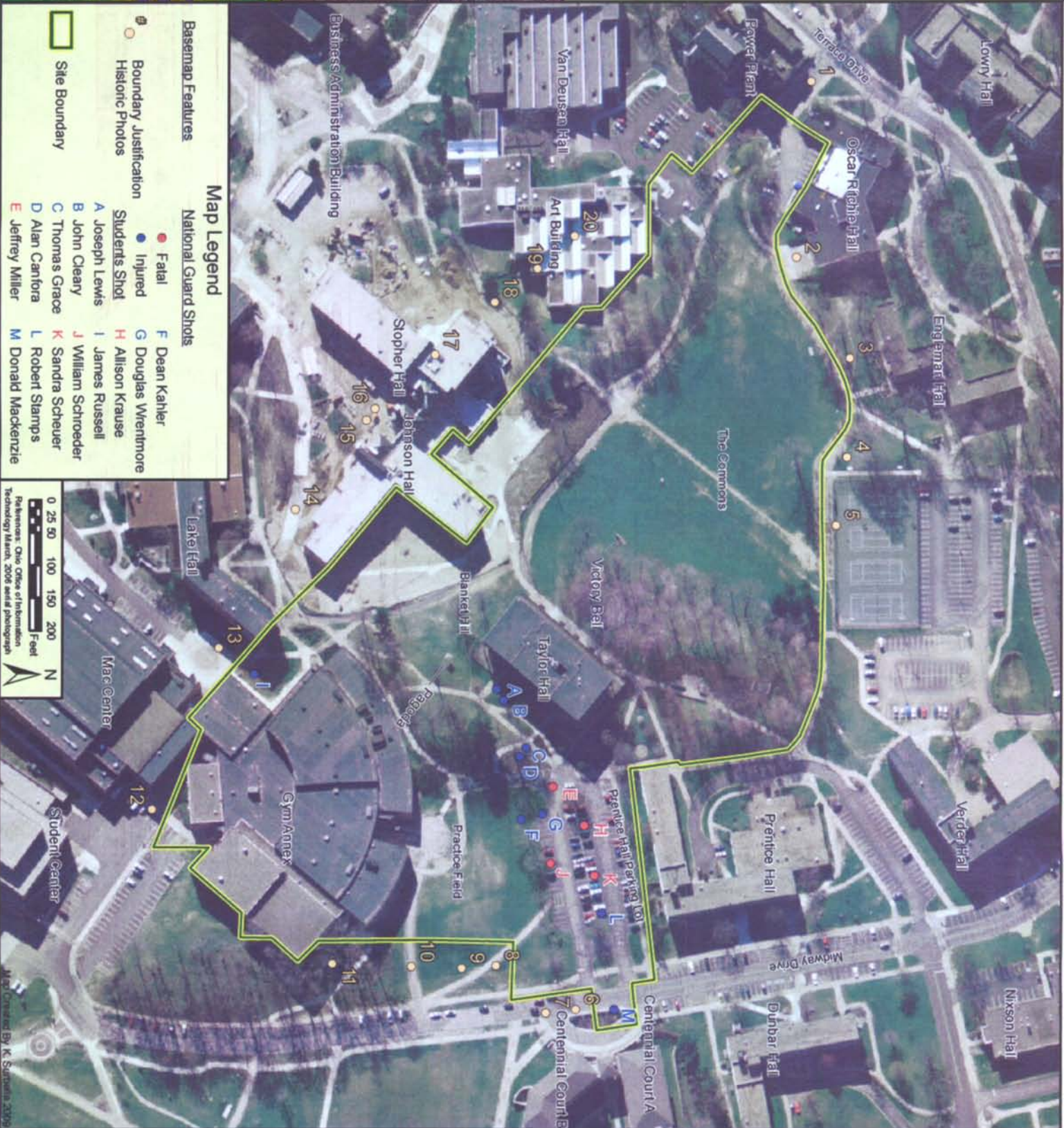
Portage County, Ohio

2007 Landforms and Buildings, May 1970 Shooting Victims, and Keyed Locations of Historic Photographs Supporting Site Boundary Justification

Map 5



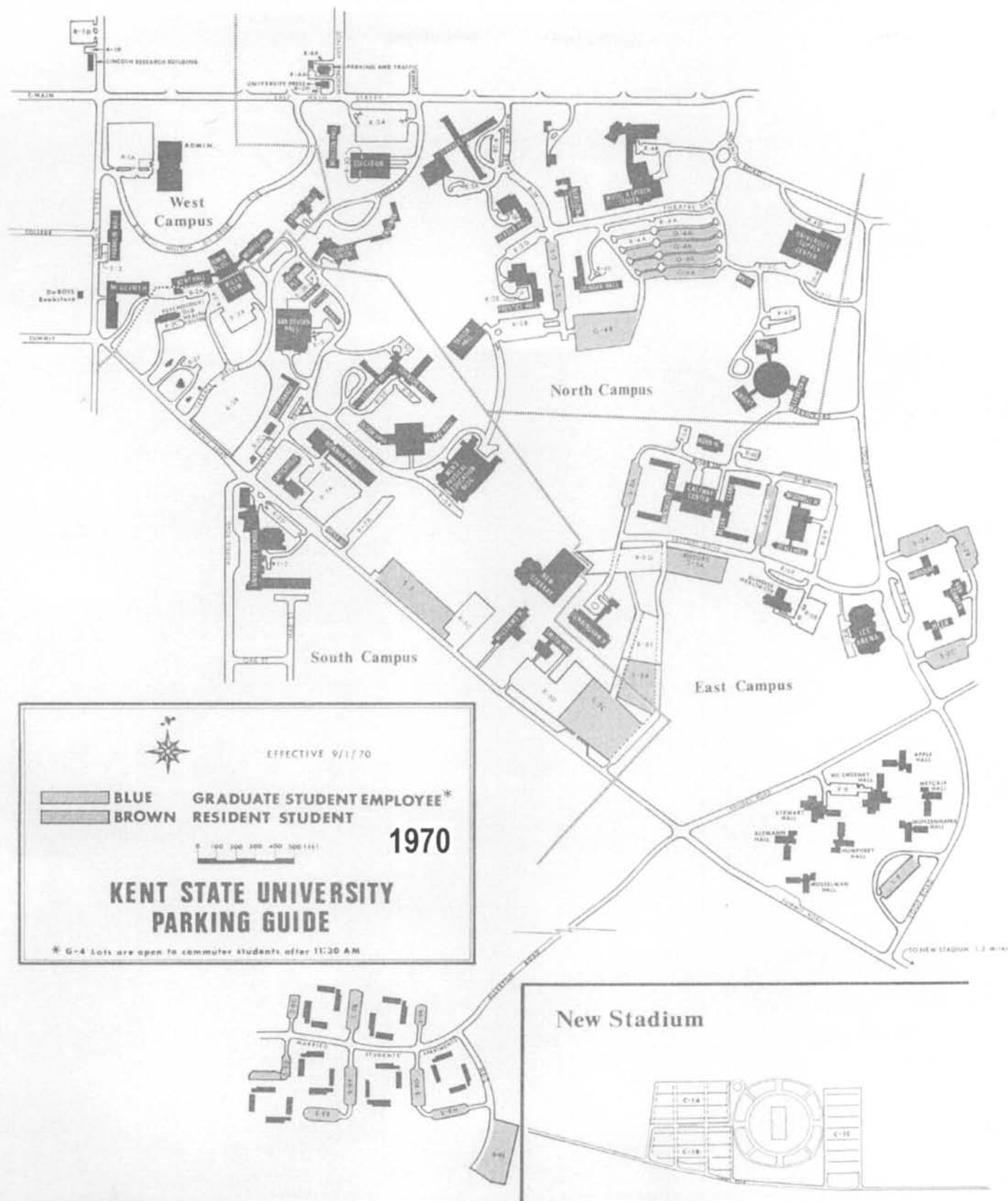
Solar Totem sculpture by Don Drum



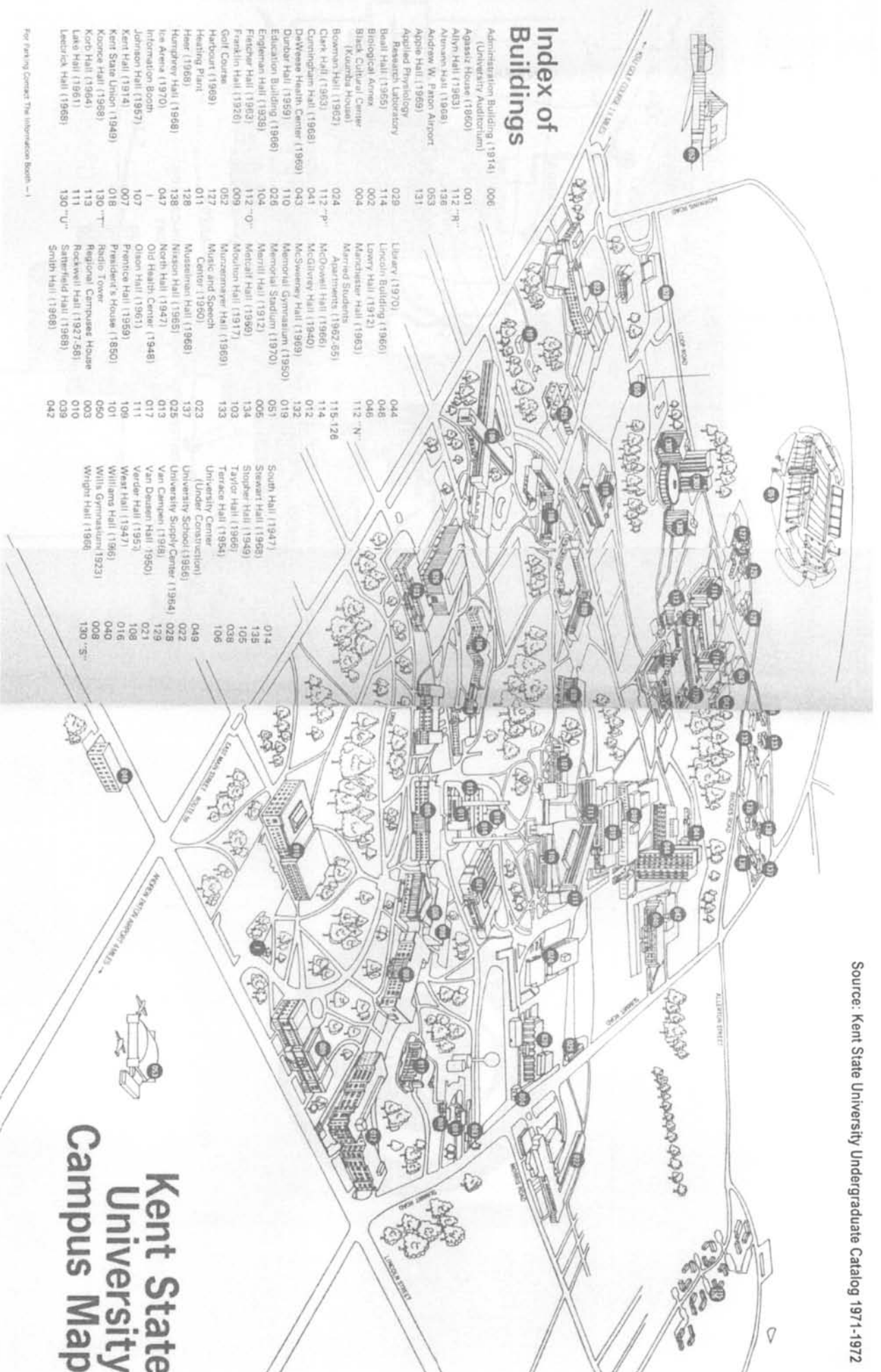
May 4, 1970, Kent State Snooking Site
Portage County, OH



May 4, Kent State Shootings Site, Portage County, OH



May 4, 1970. Kent State Shootings Site
Portage County, OH



Index of Buildings

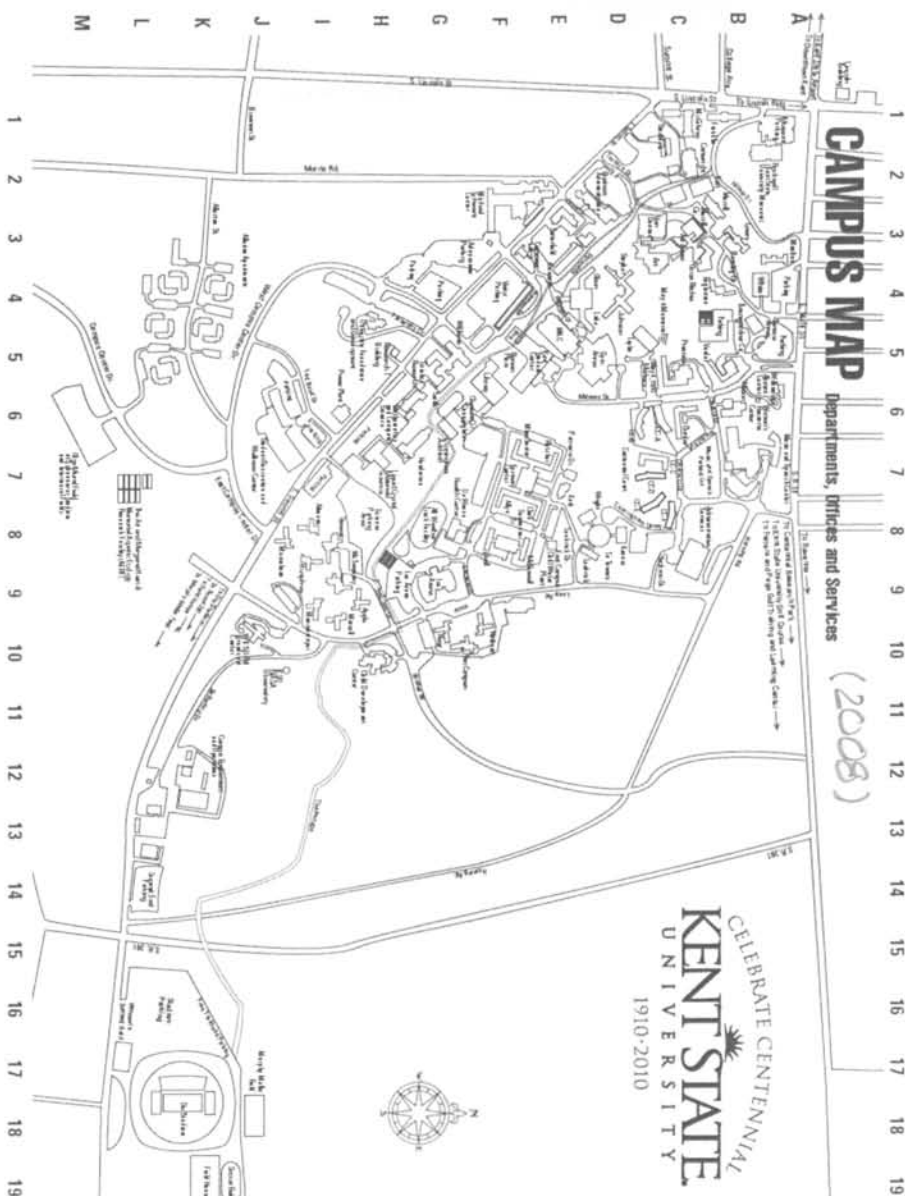
Administration Building (1914)	006	Library (1970)	044
Agassiz House (1860)	001	Lincoln Building (1960)	046
Allen Hall (1963)	112 "R"	Lovett Hall (1912)	046
Alumni Hall (1968)	136	Marquette Hall (1963)	112 "N"
Andrew W. Paton Airport	053	Married Students	115-126
Apple Hall (1969)	131	McDonnell Hall (1966)	114
Applied Physiology		McGraw-Hill Hall (1940)	012
Research Laboratory		McShenney Hall (1969)	132
Beall Hall (1965)	029	Memorial Gymnasium (1950)	019
Biological Annex	114	Memorial Stadium (1970)	051
Black Cultural Center	002	Merrill Hall (1912)	005
(Kuznetsov House)	004	Metzger Hall (1969)	134
Bowman Hall (1962)	024	Moulton Hall (1917)	103
Cherry Hall (1963)	112 "P"	Museum of Art (1969)	133
Cumtosh Hall (1968)	041	Music and Speech	
Dakota Health Center (1969)	043	Center (1950)	023
Dorchester Hall (1969)	110	Museum Hall (1968)	137
Education Building (1966)	026	Nixon Hall (1965)	025
Engleman Hall (1938)	104	North Hall (1947)	013
Fletcher Hall (1963)	112 "O"	Old Health Center (1948)	017
Franklin Hall (1926)	009	Olson Hall (1961)	111
Golf Course	052	Prentiss Hall (1959)	109
Harbort (1969)	127	President's House (1950)	101
Heating Plant	011	Radio Tower	050
Heer (1968)	128	Regional Campus House	003
Humphrey Hall (1968)	138	Rockwell Hall (1927-58)	010
Ira Avenue (1970)	047	Satterfield Hall (1968)	042
Information Booth	1		
Johann Hall (1967)	107		
Kent Hall (1914)	007		
Kent State Union (1949)	018		
Koonce Hall (1968)	130 "T"		
Kott Hall (1964)	113		
Lake Hall (1961)	111		
Letcher Hall (1968)	130 "U"		
		South Hall (1947)	014
		Stewart Hall (1965)	135
		Shupler Hall (1949)	105
		Taylor Hall (1965)	038
		Terrace Hall (1954)	106
		University Center	
		(Under Construction)	
		University School (1956)	049
		University Supply Center (1964)	022
		Van Cuylen (1918)	129
		Van Dusen Hall (1950)	021
		Vander Hall (1953)	108
		West Hall (1947)	016
		Williams Hall (1965)	040
		Wills Gymnasium (1923)	008
		Wright Hall (1966)	130 "S"

For Further Contact: The Information Booth - 1

Source: Kent State University Undergraduate Catalog 1971-1972

Kent State
University
Campus Map

May 4, 1970, Kent State Shootings Site, Portage County, OH

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May 4, 1970, Kent State Shootings Site, Portage County, OH



Photo © Howard Ruffner

Figure 1. Antiwar protest march organized by the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC) in downtown Kent, Ohio, November 1969.

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Figure 2. President Richard Nixon outlines the U.S. incursions into Cambodia, April 30, 1970.

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Figure 3. The Guard at the burning of the Kent State ROTC building, May 2, 1970.

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Figure 4. Governor James Rhodes inspects damage at the site of the ROTC building, May 3, 1970.

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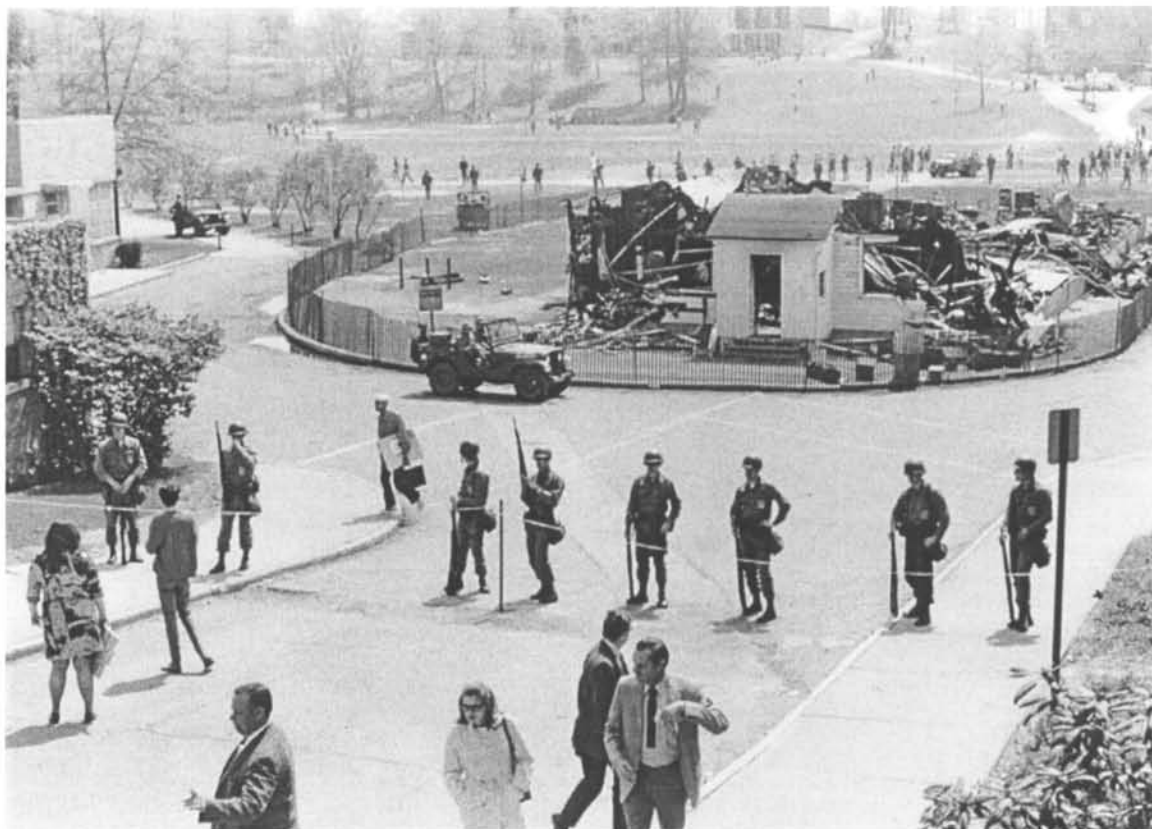


Figure 5. The Commons with ROTC building and Lilac Lane boulder marker (contributing), early morning of May 4, 1970.

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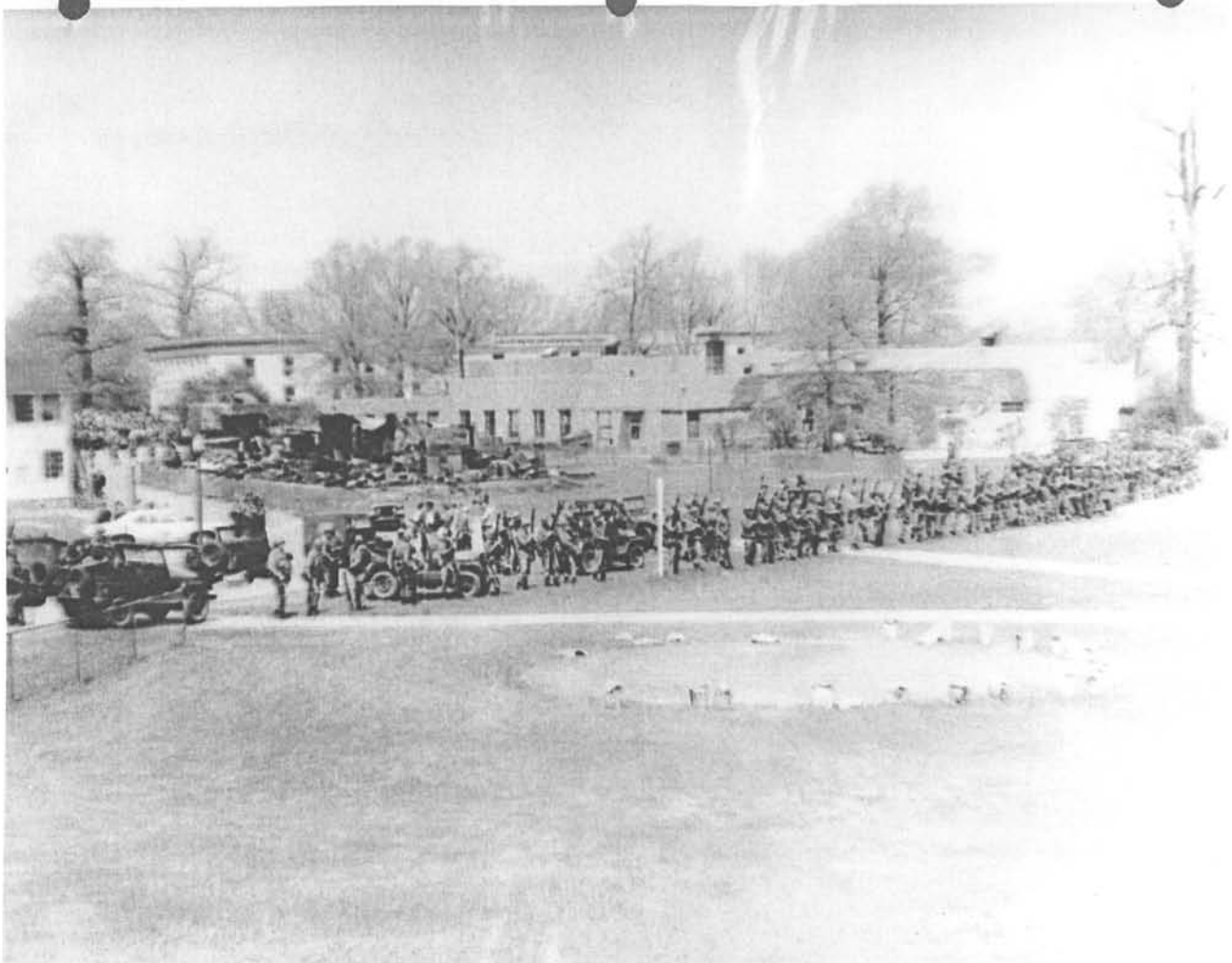


Figure 6. National Guard skirmish line in static position at north end of the Commons with ROTC building in background, May 4, 1970, facing northeast.

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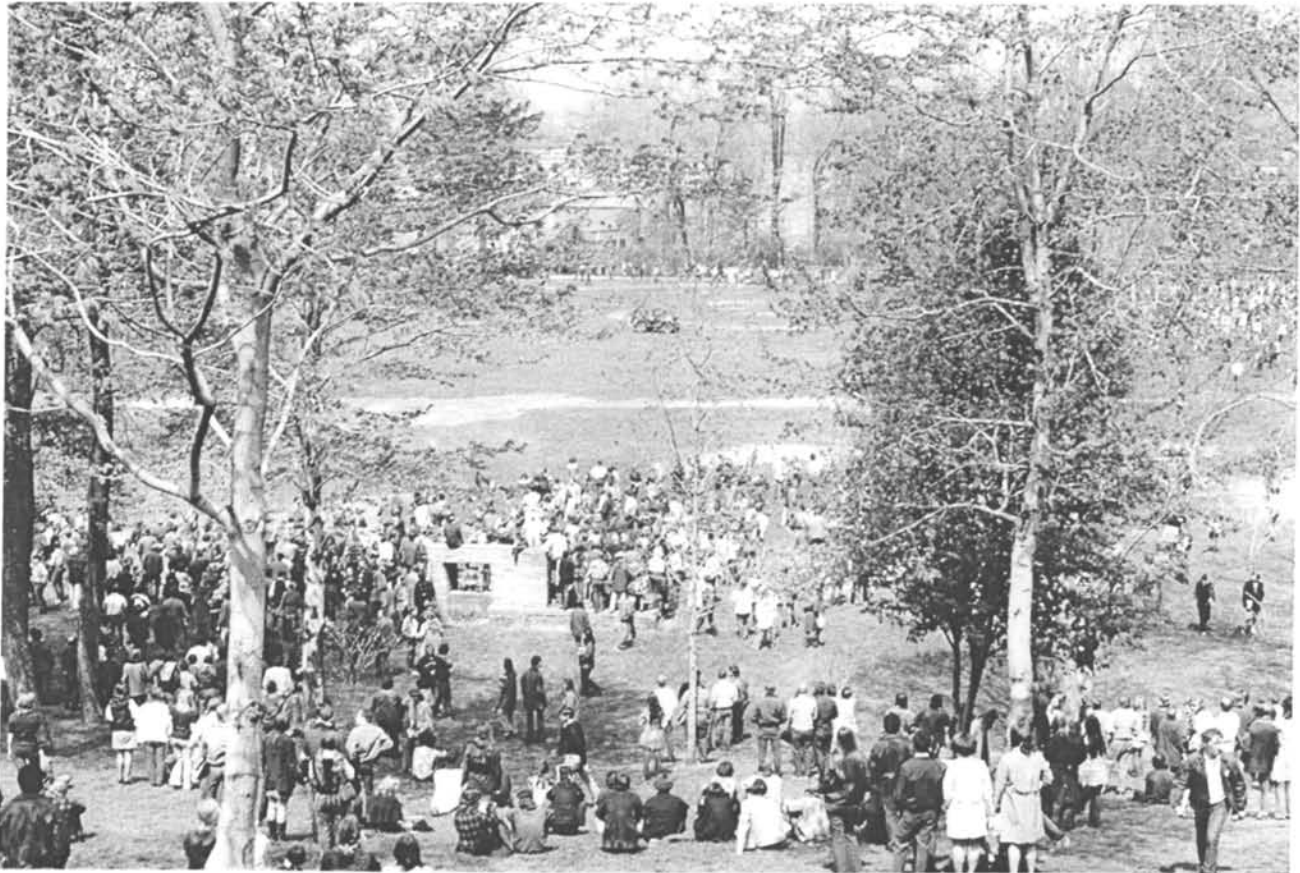


Figure 7. Rally at the Victory Bell, 11:50 a.m., May 4, 1970, facing northeast. Jeep from which orders to disperse is in center. Onlookers along Lilac Lane at right.

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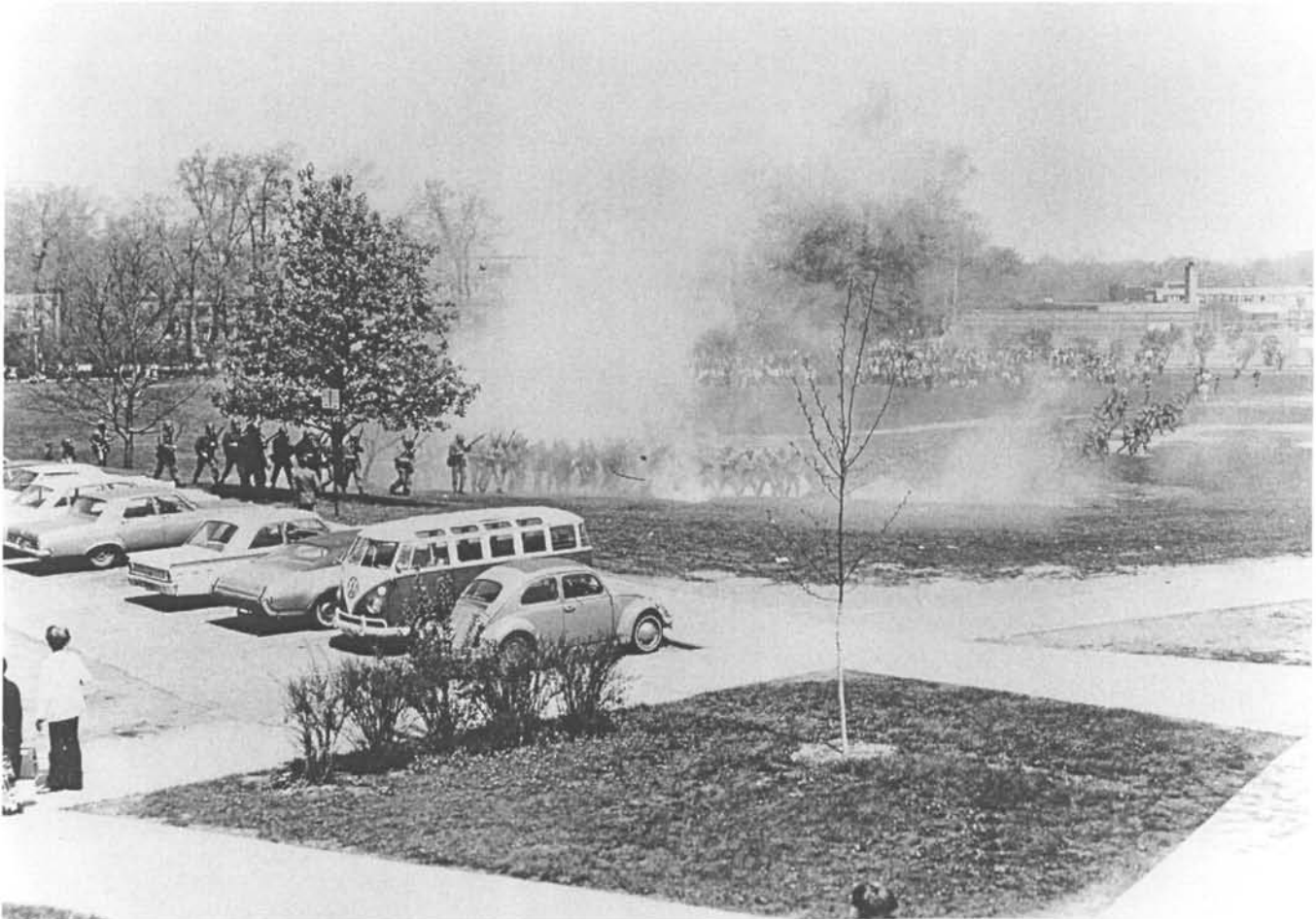


Figure 1. National Guard advances across the Commons toward the Victory Bell, May 4, 1970, facing northeast.

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Figure 9. National Guard advances across the Commons toward the Victory Bell with student protesters holding their ground, May 4, 1970, facing southeast.

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Figure 10. View of students retreating along the west side of Taylor Hall, May 4, 1970, facing south.

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Figure 11. Guard in "kneeling position" on the Practice Field with Prentice Hall Parking Lot in foreground, May 4, 1970, facing west.

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Figure 12. Guard in "kneeling position" on Practice Field with Alan Canfora waving flag, May 4, 1970, facing west.

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Figure 13. The Guard exits the Practice Field moving north, May 4, 1970, facing west southwest.

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Figure 14. The Guard climbs Blanket Hill moving north toward the Pagoda, May 4, 1970, facing southwest.

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Figure 15. The Guard moving north to the crest of Blanket Hill at the Pagoda (contributing object), May 4, 1970, facing west, *Solar Totem* sculpture (contributing object) is at right.

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Figure 16. The Guard wheels to the east and shoots from the Pagoda position, 12:24 p.m. May 4, 1970.

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Figure 17. Students react to the shooting by fleeing into Taylor Hall, May 4, 1970, facing west.

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Figure 18. Students react to the shooting by fleeing and flattening, Prentice Hall Parking Lot and adjacent slope, May 4, 1970, facing south.

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Figure 19. Students react to the shooting by flattening on the Practice Field, May 4, 1970, facing south southwest.

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Figure 20. Students attend to the wounded John Cleary at the base of the *Solar Totem* sculpture, May 4, 1970, facing west.

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Figure 21. The Guard resumes its march back toward the ROTC building after the shootings, May 4, 1970, facing south.

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Figure 22. Captain Ron Snyder and members of Charlie Company at the body of Jeffrey Miller adjacent to the Prentice Hall Parking Lot with the Pagoda, *Solar Totem*, and Taylor Hall in background, May 4, 1970, facing west.

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Figure 23. The Guard reestablished on the Commons surrounding the ROTC building with students to the north and south, May 4, 1970, facing south.

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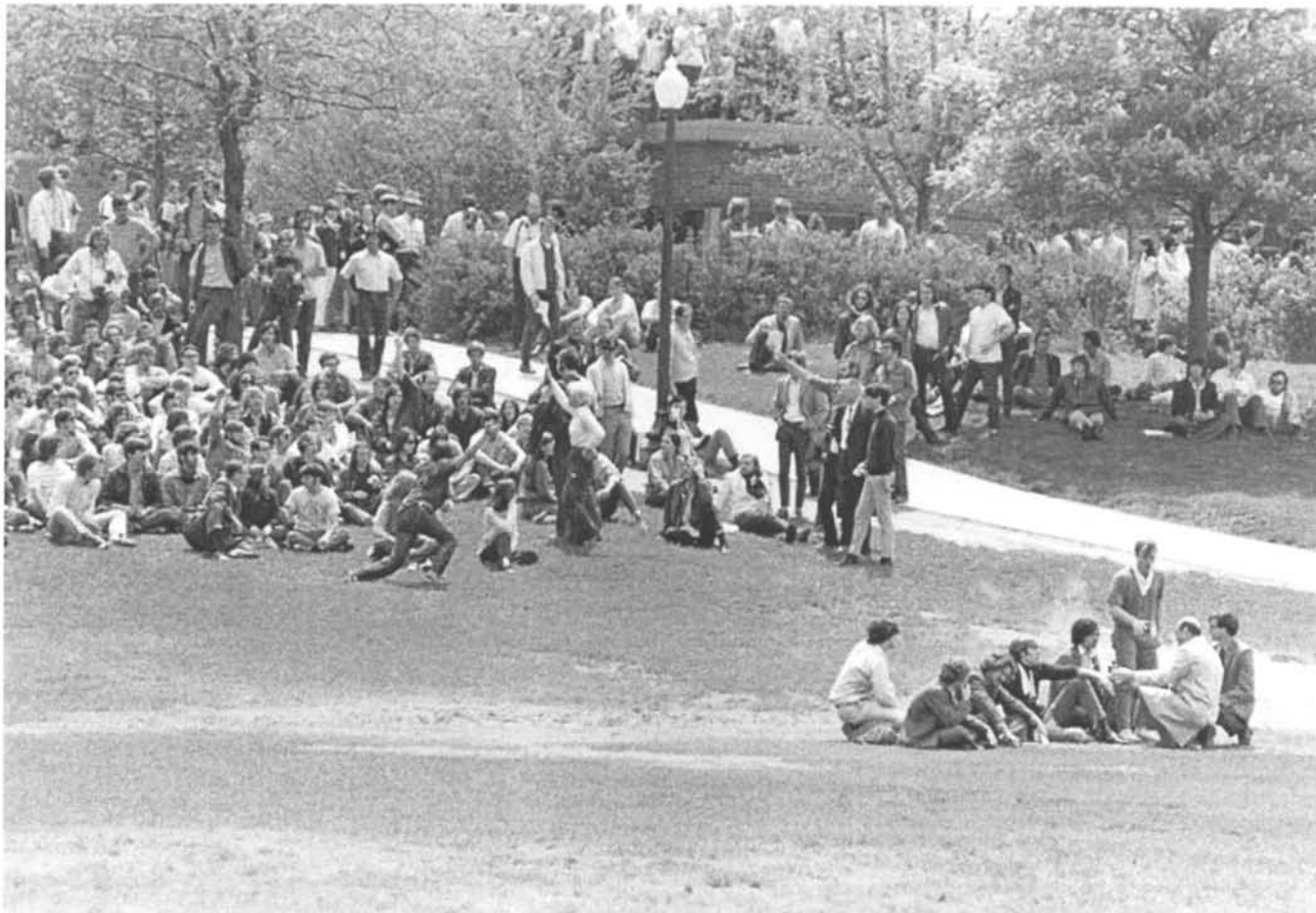


Figure 24. Myron Lunine (foreground kneeling in light raincoat) tries to calm students, 1:15 p.m., May 4, 1970, facing southwest.

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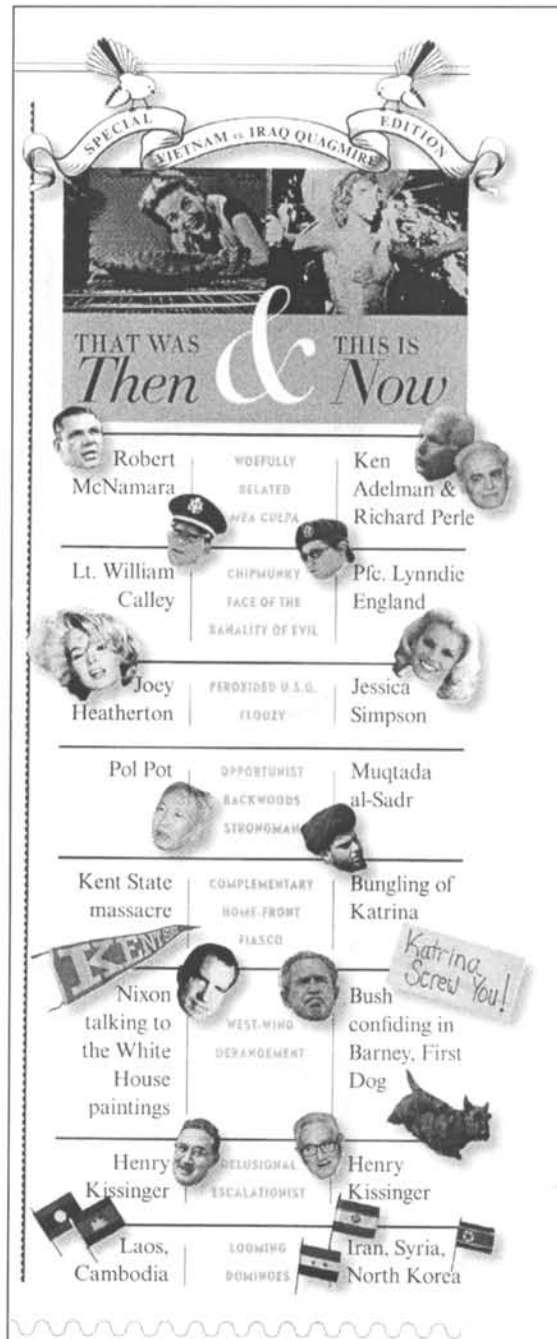


Figure 25. The shootings of May 4, 1970 are used as a comparative benchmark in U.S. history. This image is from *Vanity Fair* magazine, February 2007, p. 129.

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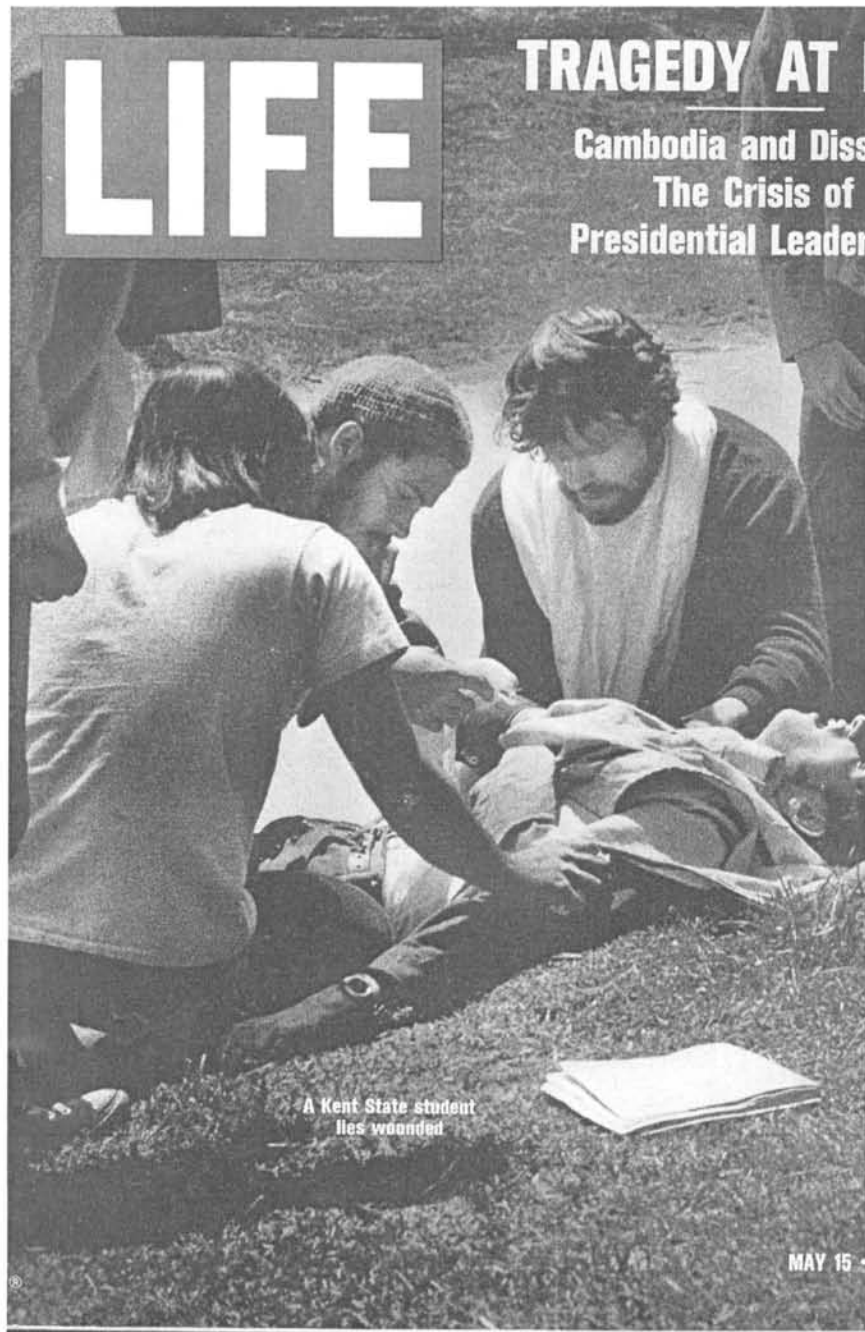


Figure 26. *Life* magazine cover, May 15, 1970.

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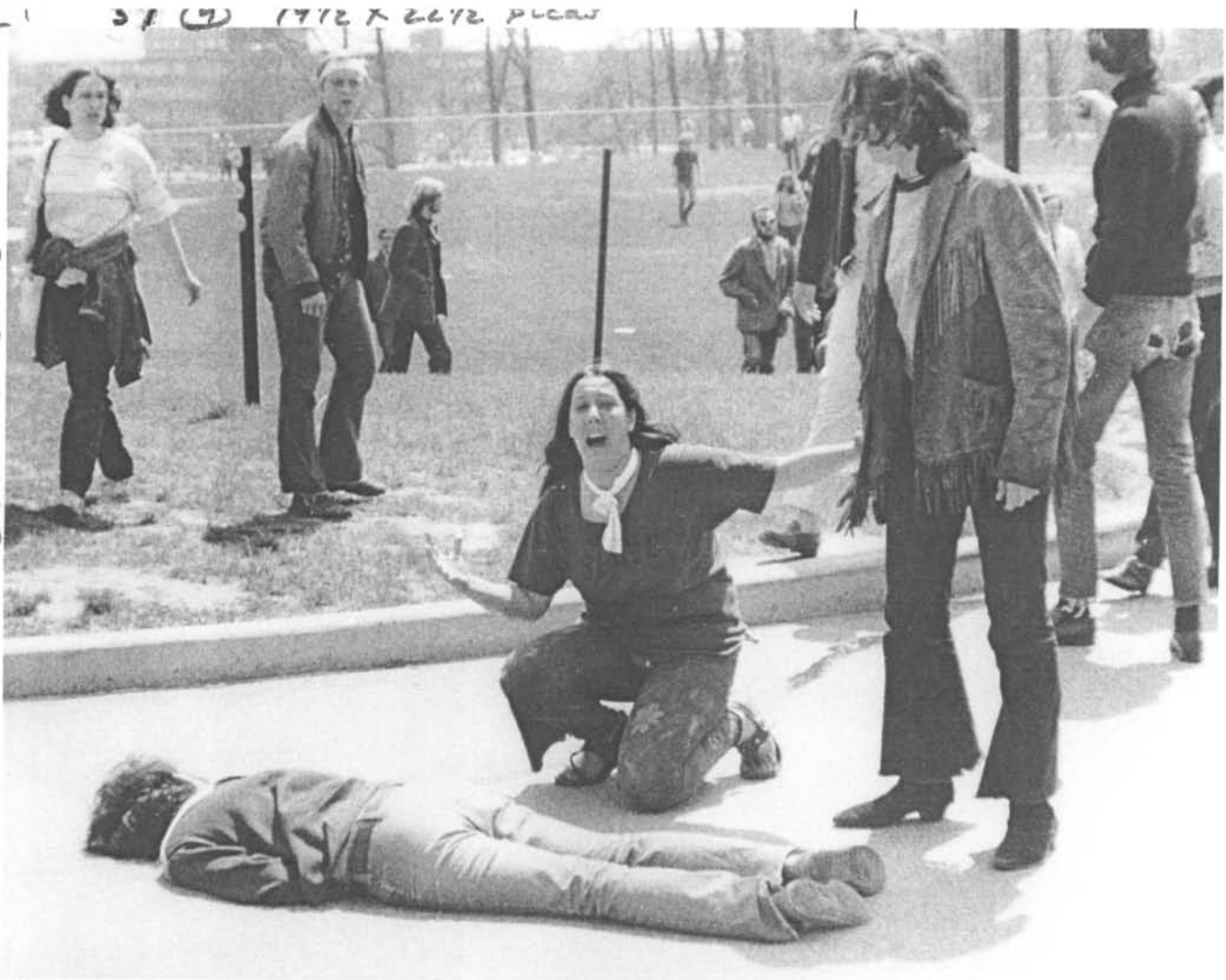


Figure 27. Pulitzer Prize photograph of Mary Vecchio at the body of Jeffrey Miller, May 4, 1970.

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Figure 28. Commemoration vigil, May 1972.

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Figure 29. New York City march in October, 1970 protesting the twenty-five indictments handed down by the Portage County Special Grand Jury. Note Student Mobilization Committee (SMC) logo.

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Figure 30. "Tent City" protest of the Gym Annex construction, May 1977.

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May 4, 1970



Dec 20, 2006 (facing SW)

Figure 31. Integrity of the property: historic and modern look of the Commons and Blanket Hill showing Taylor Hall, the Victory Bell, and Stopher-Johnson dormitory.

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May 4, 1970



Dec 20, 2006 (facing SW)

Figure 32. Integrity of the property: historic and modern configuration of Stopher-Johnson dormitory.

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May 4, 1970



Dec 20, 2006 (facing N)

Figure 33. Integrity of the property: historic and modern view of the Commons from Blanket Hill.

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May 4, 1970



Dec 20, 2006 (facing SW and showing
east elevation of Gym Annex)

Figure 34. Integrity of the property: historic and modern view of the Practice Field area.

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May 4, 1970



Jan 03, 2007 (facing SW at Jeffrey Miller
death marker (noncontributing))

Figure 35. Integrity of the property: historic and contemporary view of the Practice Field from the Jeffrey Miller death location.

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May 4, 1970



July 8, 2008 (facing W and showing
position of Gym Annex [noncontributing]
on former Practice Field; Sandy Scheuer
death marker [noncontributing] at right)

Figure 36. Integrity of property: the Prentice Hall Parking Lot and adjacent Practice Field.

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May 4, 1970



Dec 20, 2006 (facing SW and showing
northeast elevation of Gym Annex)

Figure 37. Integrity of the property: south slope of Blanket Hill.

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May 4, 1970



Dec 20, 2006 (facing W)

Figure 38. Integrity of the property: historic and contemporary view of the summit of Blanket Hill.

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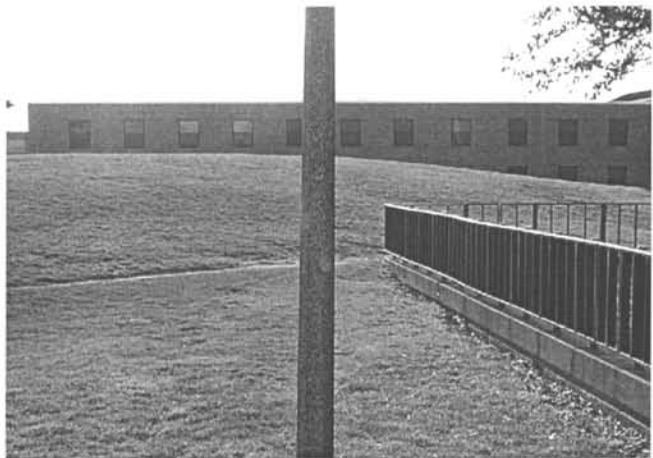
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May 4, 1970



Dec 20, 2006 (facing W and showing
roofline of rebuilt Johnson Hall)

Figure 39. Integrity of the property: historic and contemporary view of the roofline of Stopher-Johnson Dormitory.

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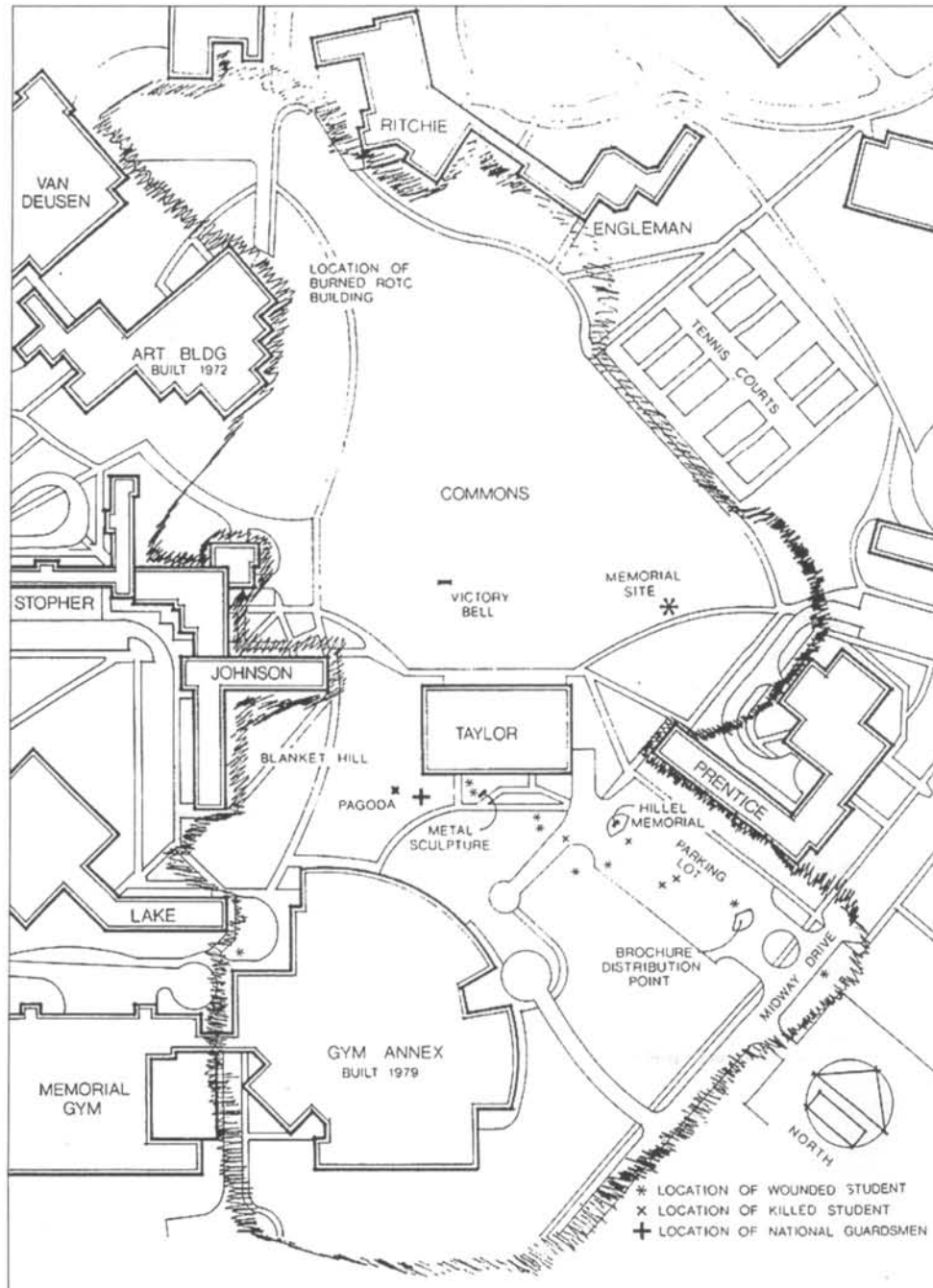


Figure 40. Boundary justification: twenty-fifth anniversary map and boundaries as they appear in Barbato, et al. (1995).

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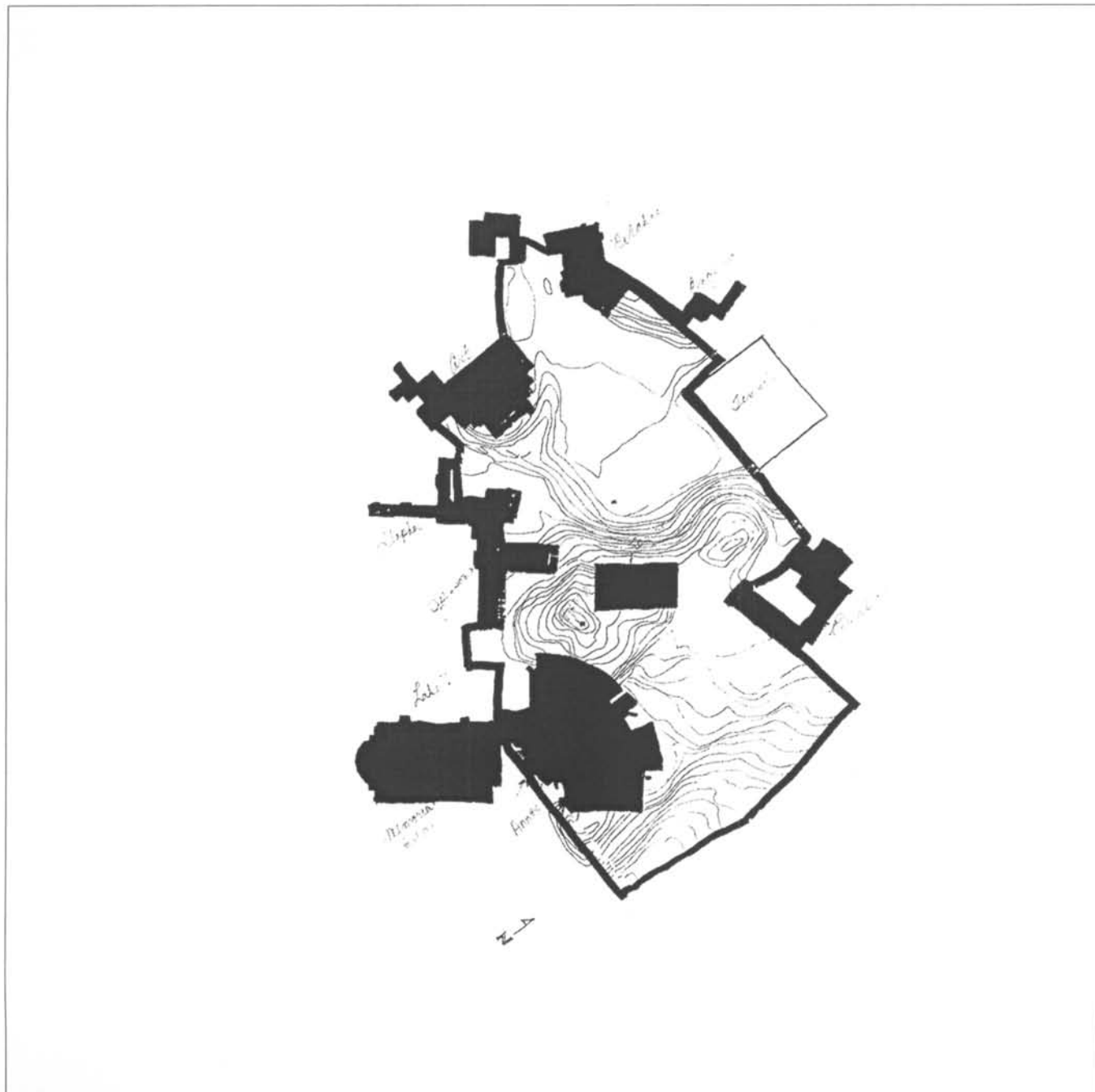


Figure 41. Boudary justification: Hollo, Crysler, and Owens (1995) map showing their site boundaries.

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Figure 42. Boundary justification: students at barrier between Oscar Ritchie Hall and Old Power Plant, May 4, 1970; see Map 5, Location #1.

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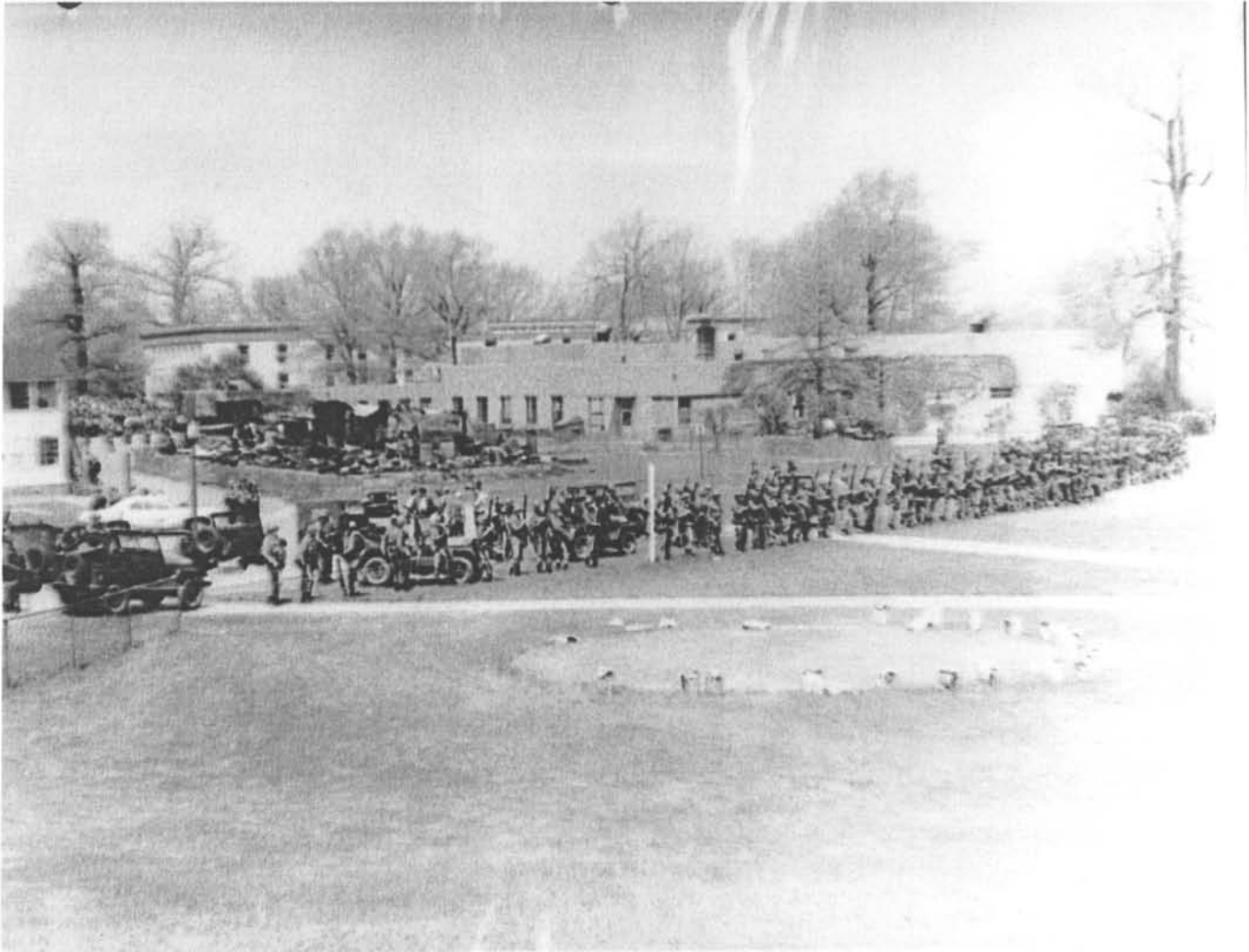


Figure 43. Boundary justification: Guard skirmish line extends towards south elevation of Oscar Ritchie Hall, May 4, 1970; see Map 5, Location #2.

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Figure 44. Boundary justification: view from Blanket Hill towards students massed along Lilac Lane, May 4, 1970; see Map 5, Location #3.

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Figure 45. Boundary justification: view from Johnson Hall across the Commons to students massed along Lilac Lane near the tennis courts, May 4, 1970; see Map 5, Location #4.

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Figure 46. Boundary justification: view from Blanket Hill towards central and southern extent of Lilac Lane, May 4, 1970; see Map 5, Location #5.

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Figure 47. Boundary justification: view from the southwest corner of the Prentice Hall Parking Lot toward Midway Drive, May 4, 1970; see Map 5, Location #6.

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Figure 48. Boundary justification: view from southwest corner of Prentice Hall Parking Lot toward adjacent lawn, May 4, 1970; see Map 5, Location #7.

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Figure 49. Boundary justification: view from driveway south of Taylor Hall and south across northern end of the Practice Field, May 4, 1970; see Map 5, Location #8.

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Figure 50. Boundary justification: view from driveway south of Taylor Hall towards the Practice Field boundary fence, May 4, 1970; see Map 5, Location #9.

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Figure 51. Boundary justification: view from Blanket Hill southeast across the Practice Field to Guard's "kneeling position" with boundary fence in background, May 4, 1970; see Map 5, Location #10.

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Figure 52. Boundary justification: view of the southeast corner of the Practice Field with barbed wire-topped barrier fence and Student Center in background, May 4, 1970; see Map 5, Location #11.

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Figure 53. Boundary justification: the south end of the Practice Field with KSU Library in background, May 4, 1970; see Map 5, Location #12.

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Figure 54. Boundary justification: view from Blanket Hill towards area between Lake and Johnson Halls, May 4, 1970; see Map 5, Location #13.

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Figure 55. Boundary justification: view from Blanket Hill southwest towards Johnson Hall, May 4, 1970; see Map 5, Location #14.

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Figure 56. Boundary justification: view from south elevation of Taylor Hall across western Blanket Hill passway to Johnson Hall and the low roof of the Student Activities Center, May 4, 1970; see Map 5, Location #15.

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Figure 57. Boundary justification: the roof of the Student Activities Center, May 4, 1970; see Map 5, Location #16.

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Figure 58. Boundary justification: view of Stopher Hall from the Commons, May 4, 1970; see Map 5, Location #17.

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Figure 59. Boundary justification: fence line northwest of Stopher Hall, May 4, 1970; see Map 5, Location #18.

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Figure 60. Boundary justification: fence boundary northwest of Stopher Hall and east of Van Deusen Hall, May 4, 1970; see Map 5, Location #19.

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Figure 61. Boundary justification: property boundary along South Hall eastern elevation, with West Hall, North Hall, Heating Plant, and burned ROTC building (East Hall) in background, May 4, 1970; see Map 5, Location #20.













